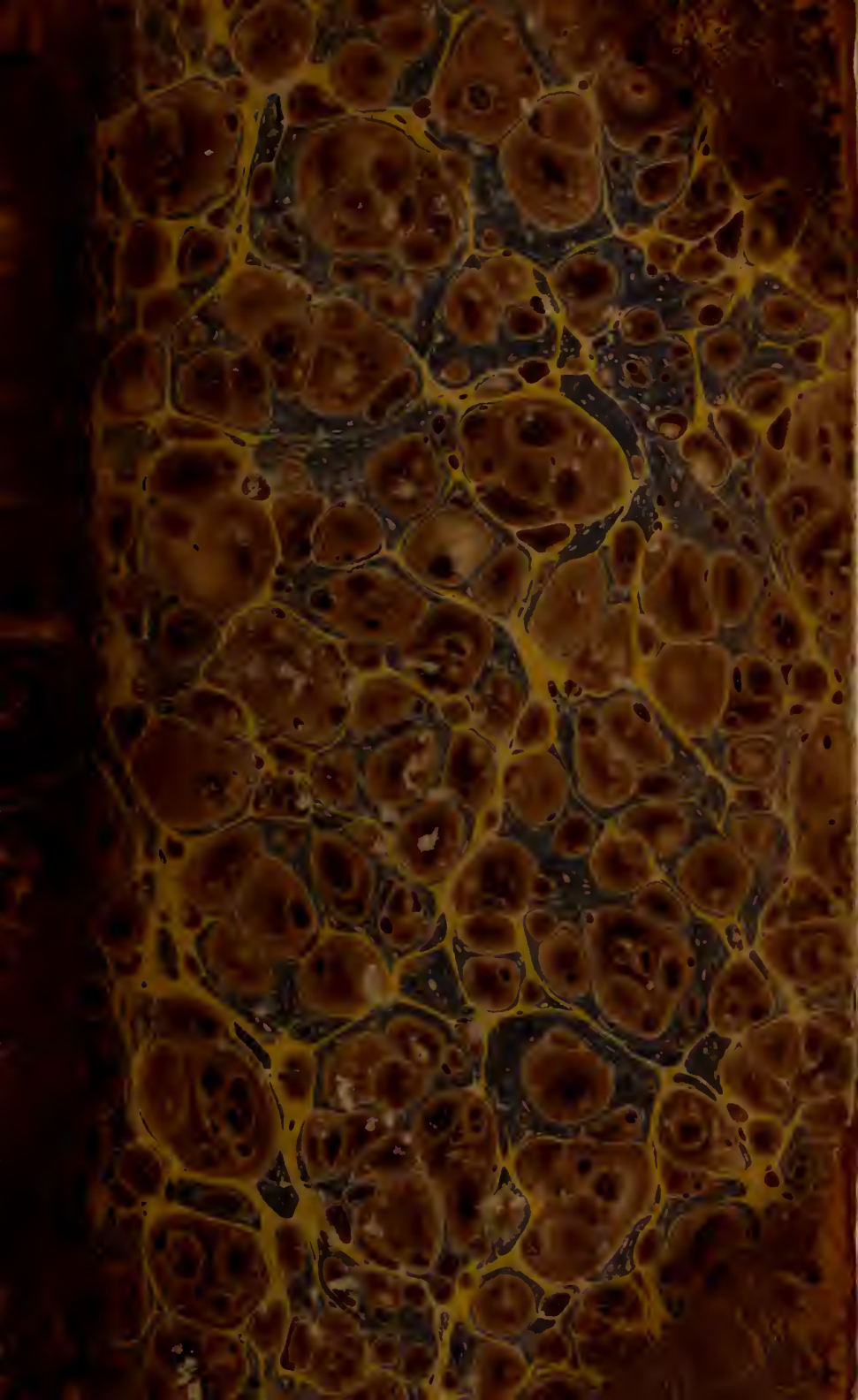




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ART. I. *Hong merchants' Report on commerce: 1st, respecting the exportation of sycee; 2d, the interchange of merchandisc; 3d, measures to prevent illegalities; and 4th, the transit of opium and the coasting trade in it.*

[Several articles, which were designed for the present number, are deferred in order to give place to others of more immediate interest. In our number for July was published the memorial of Heu Naetse, with an imperial mandate, directing the chief authorities of Canton to deliberate thereon and report in answer: their report appeared in our number for October, and ought to have been preceded by the one which we here introduce. This was made some time in the month of July last; we give it a place here, partly for its intrinsic value as a commercial paper, and partly in order to render as complete as possible a series of papers which have come before the public, touching the trade in opium. The following is the Report of the hong merchants.]

IN obedience to the commands of his excellency the hoppo, to deliberate on certain particulars, we now present for perusal the result of our deliberations, arranged under [four] distinct heads.

First. We received directions "to examine in regard to the following statement—contained in a memorial presented to the emperor (whereof a copy was previously transmitted), namely, 'that foreign merchants dare not openly take goods in barter for opium, but always clandestinely sell it for sycee silver.' Now the exportation of sycee silver (it was remarked) has long been interdicted; and the said merchants surely do not presume to contravene the regulations in the least degree. Yet it may be difficult to aver, that not a single illegality is committed by them; and still more difficult would it be to stand answerable, that there are no traitorous natives who carry on a clandestine commerce."

In reply hereto, we the hong merchants would humbly represent, that it is really owing to the strictness of the governmental regulations that foreigners are prevented from openly taking goods in barter for

opium. In regard to sycee silver, we, every year, severally and voluntarily enter into bonds, that we will on no account aid and abet the foreigners in exporting it, which bonds are presented to your excellencies. How can we possibly contravene the regulations, and so render ourselves criminal? Yet it is indeed, as his excellency the hoppo says, difficult to stand answerable that there are no traitorous natives who carry on a clandestine commerce. To watch against such an illicit commerce is, however, beyond *our* power; and it therefore behoves us to request that the rule, in regard to seizures of smuggled commodities, may be brought into operation, this rule, namely, that the capturers shall be liberally rewarded. In pursuance of this, a certain proportion of all sycee silver, that may hereafter be captured, should be given for an encouragement to the capturers, and thus those who receive such rewards will be induced to exert themselves in an extraordinary degree; and the smugglers, knowing that such rewards are held out, will at once become intimidated.

Secondly. We received the following inquiries to direct our deliberations: "The foreign merchants have need of teas, rhubarb, cassia, sugar, silk, &c., which articles must have been heretofore kept in store by the hong merchants, so as to be in readiness to be exchanged for imported goods. Should the amount of imported commodities become hereafter too great, how can ware-house room be afforded, in order to retain such commodities for gradual sale? And can it be so arranged, that, when it is impossible to effect an immediate sale, and the foreign merchant finds himself unable to wait longer, he may be allowed to return home leaving his goods with the hong merchant to sell for him as opportunities offer, and on his return receiving such an amount of merchandise as is due to him in exchange? Let these questions be well considered."

In answer hereto, we would humbly point out, what has been hitherto the practice: On foreign vessels coming to Canton to trade, their cargoes are sent up to our hong; and then a list is given by each foreign merchant of the native commodities required in return, which commodities we purchase for them from the various dealers therein. We never keep a stock of each article on hand. And of late years our means have been very much reduced, so that often we are unable to pay in due season the duties accruing: how then can we possibly lay in a store of ready purchased articles? If it happen that too great a quantity of any article is introduced, so that it cannot be sold off at once, and the vessel is to sail immediately, the security merchant in that case applies to the foreigner for the amount of duties due, that he may pay them for him. The unsold goods remain in our hong to be disposed of as opportunities offer; and when the foreign merchant returns to Canton, he then takes out the value thereof in native commodities. This is the way in which the trade has hitherto been conducted, and we would request that it may continue to be conducted in the usual manner.

Thirdly. We received directions to deliberate on the following questions: "Whether, if opium should be imported through the usual

channel for other commodities (the hong), *any* hong merchant being at liberty to land and enter it at the custom-house, it will not be found difficult to guard against illegalities in the trade? Whether it will not rather be requisite to make one of the most opulent of the senior merchants responsible,—namely, one in whom entire confidence can be placed, and one in whom the foreigners habitually place implicit trust; and to require him *alone* to enter the cargoes of opium for examination at the custom-house, and to pay the duties; still, however, allowing the foreigner to sell it, at its market value, to whichever hong merchant he may choose, in order to prevent a monopoly? Also, whether the hong merchants should not still be required to give bonds as formerly, and to state the persons to whom they have sold opium, the places whither it has been transported, and what amount (if any) of silver, sycee or foreign, has been given for it,—each separate transaction to be reported at the time, and a monthly statement to be made out, and presented at the offices of the governor and hoppo, in order to enable them to make their reports to the Board of Revenue.”

In reply to this, we would humbly notice some particulars of the mode in which we have heretofore conducted our traffic with the foreigners. We have indeed exchanged one commodity for another; but often, when the value of the imports and exports has been unequal, the balance has been paid, both by native and foreign merchants, to one another, in foreign money. And when, in consequence of the commodities of a country being saleable but to a very small extent, at Canton, large sums of foreign money have been imported for the purpose of purchasing a cargo, and no restriction has been placed on the reexportation of any remaining sum. Hence the “exportation of three tenths,”* has received the sanction of government. Again, there are cases in which full cargoes are imported, while—in consequence of the prices of native commodities being too high, or the commodities themselves not calculated for sale in the places from whence the vessels come—the exported cargoes are small. The surplus foreign money, then, being greater in amount than the “exportable three tenths,” whatever exceeds that amount is either left here for the purchase of other goods, or is lent to other foreigners. This is a thing of common occurrence. For instance, of the rice-laden ships which now enter the port, the largest bring cargoes of somewhat above 10,000 peculs, amounting in value to but twenty or thirty thousand dollars; and the smaller ones bring cargoes of, it may be, 5000 or 6000 peculs, the value of which is no more than ten thousand and odd dollars. Yet these same vessels return with export cargoes of the value of two or three hundred thousand dollars, or at least of from one to two hundred thousand dollars. The money required to purchase these cargoes is therefore frequently borrowed from foreigners, who have a balance in money, in excess of that portion of the price of their import cargoes for which they have taken goods. This then is a

* That is, 30 per cent of the excess of the value of the imports over that of the exports.

clear proof that, in the instance of rice-laden vessels, the unemployed balance possessed by other foreigners is borrowed, in order to purchase exports wherewith to send them back to their country.

Now, in reference to the question, at present under consideration, whether permission shall be given to import opium, paying a legal duty thereon, we have, as a provision in case that such permission should be given, inquired of the foreign merchants, if they can export goods to such an amount as to equal in value their importations of opium, so that they need not have any occasion for exporting money? Their answer was of the following tenor: "That it is right and proper that they should comply with the arrangement to take cargo in exchange for the proceeds of their opium; but that the ports to which they return are not all alike, and that our native commodities are not every where equally saleable; that were the merchants who bring opium to Canton to make their returns in merchandise purchased here, such merchandise would be unsaleable,—and therefore the arrangement that goods are to be taken in return for opium cannot be universally adopted; that, however, they can in such cases lend their money to other foreigners to purchase cargoes with, which will be the same thing as if the foreign merchants who import opium applied all the proceeds to the purchase of goods themselves; lastly, that, in case they should be unable to lend out the whole of the proceeds, they are willing to act in accordance with the regulation hitherto existing, by which they are allowed to export in foreign money three tenths of the excess of imports over exports; but that to require each several ship to take export cargo in exchange for imports will, they really apprehend, be found inapplicable, injurious, and impracticable; on which account they deem it their duty to request that the regulation heretofore existing, as above mentioned, may continue in full force." We, the hong merchants, would here suggest, that, although there be no duty charged on exported silver, yet as it is required to report at the custom-house the sums shipped, it will be impossible that any very considerable amount should be clandestinely exported. Whether such an arrangement in regard to the importation of opium, the grand question now under consideration, shall be adopted or not, must depend on your excellencies' decision.

It has been for a long time past the rule, when a vessel reaches Canton, to permit the foreigner himself to select the hong merchant who shall secure his vessel: this is left entirely to the will of the foreigner, and no compulsion may be exercised in the matter. All goods that are to be entered at the custom-house for examination and assessment are so entered by the security merchant, on application made by the foreigner; and the charges on the vessel, on entering the port and when discharging cargo, are also paid by the security merchant. But any of the hong merchants may have a portion of the cargo, and it is the rule, that the merchant who so receives cargo shall pay all the duties thereon into the treasury of the custom-house. In this way, there can be no monopolizing. Should opium be admitted for importation in the same manner as piece-goods, cotton, &c., the

arrangements in regard to the sale of it by hong merchants to minor dealers, and the transport of it from Canton to other places, should also be the same as with regard to those commodities. Such as is transported to other provinces by an over-land route should be entered at the eastern and western custom-houses, where a pass should be obtainable on examination. And such as is transported by sea on board native trading vessels should be entered outwards, at the chief custom-house, through the medium of the merchants of Fuhkeën and Chaouchow. The laws on these points being very precise, it seems needless to report each separate transaction of sale, or to present any monthly statements.

Fourthly. We received directions to deliberate carefully on this question: "When opium is transported to other provinces for sale, should not those precautionary regulations which have been enacted in regard to foreigners trading at Canton be put in practice, and communications be sent to the authorities in all the sea-board provinces, informing them, that whatever opium has not the stamp of the custom-house on it is to be regarded as smuggled, and both vessel and cargo therefore confiscated, and the parties subjected to legal investigation? And, if any vessels proceed to the receiving ships, which are anchored on the high seas to trade with them, should not the hong merchants be required to take measures against their so doing?"

In reply, we would humbly point out, that in the regulations enacted last year for checking foreigners engaged here in trade, there occurs the following passage: "In respect to all native trading vessels, from whatever province they may be, any foreign goods that may be purchased for shipment on them shall be entered at the chief custom-house at Canton, and there, having been stamped, a pass for the same shall be granted, specifying in detail the amount of goods, in order that no clandestine transactions may be suffered to take place. And communications shall be sent to the authorities in all the provinces that they may act in compliance with this regulation, and may give orders accordingly to the officers of the maritime custom-houses, to examine all trading vessels carrying cargoes of foreign merchandise, and, if they find any articles not marked with the stamp of the Canton custom-house, to regard such articles as smuggled, and to subject the parties to a legal investigation and confiscation of both vessel and cargo." These precautionary measures are sufficiently precise, and should undoubtedly be acted on. But should any vessel, in the course of her passage on the high seas, happen to traffic with the receiving ships, it is indeed beyond *our* power to prevent it. It behoves us therefore to request, that, as enacted in the above-named regulation, the officers of all cruising vessels along the coast be held responsible; that they be directed, to cruise about in constant succession; and should any traders approach a foreign ship to purchase opium, immediately to apprehend such traders, and send them to meet their trial; and lastly, that both the vessel and cargo of such traders shall be confiscated, and the proceeds thereof given as a reward to the capturers. We would also humbly request that an edict be

issued for the information of all native merchants, that they may know these things and be restrained by fear. At the same time we will continue earnestly to instruct and admonish the foreigners, and make them understand that they must indeed bring their goods into port, and pay duty thereon, and must not, as heretofore, clandestinely sell them on the high seas. Thus may the amount of duties be increased.

ART. II. *Memorial of Choo Tsun on opium: character of the trade in it; impolicy of sanctioning it; its baneful effects on the property, and on the physical and moral character, of the people.*
Dated 1836.

CHOO TSUN, member of the council and of the Board of Rites, kneeling, presents the following memorial, wherein he suggests the propriety of increasing the severity of certain prohibitory enactments, with a view to maintain the dignity of the laws, and to remove a great evil from among the people: to this end he respectfully states his views on the subject, and earnestly intreats his sacred majesty to cast a glance thereon.

I would humbly point out, that wherever an evil exists it should be at once removed; and that the laws should never be suffered to fall into desuetude. Our government, having received from heaven, the gift of peace, has transmitted it for two centuries: this has afforded opportunity for the removal of evils from among the people. For governing the central nation, and for holding in submission all the surrounding barbarians, rules exist perfect in their nature, and well-fitted to attain their end. And in regard to opium, special enactments were passed for the prohibition of its use in the first year of Keäking (1796); and since then, memorials presented at various successive periods, have given rise to additional prohibitions, all which have been inserted in the code and the several tariffs. The laws, then, relating thereto are not wanting in severity; but there are those in office who, for want of energy, fail to carry them into execution. Hence the people's minds gradually become callous; and base desires, springing up among them, increase day by day and month by month, till their rank luxuriance has spread over the whole empire. These noisome weeds, having been long neglected, it has become impossible to eradicate. And those to whom this duty is intrusted are, as if hand-bound, wholly at a loss what to do.

When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city, brokers, named 'melters.' These engage money-changers to arrange the price with the foreigners, and to obtain orders for them; with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile

drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable. The boats which carry the drug, and which are called 'fast-crabs' and 'scrambling-dragons,' are all well furnished with guns and other weapons, and ply their oars as swiftly as though they were wings. Their crews have all the overbearing assumption and audacity of pirates. Shall such men be suffered to navigate the surrounding seas according to their own will? And shall such conduct be passed over without investigation?

The late governor Loo having, on one occasion, sent the commodore Tsin Yuchang to coöperate with Teen Poo, the magistrate of Heängshan, those officers seized a vessel belonging to Lening Heënneë, which was carrying opium, and out of her they took 14,000 cattie of the drug. Punishment also was inflicted on the criminals Yaoukew and Owkwan, both of them opium-brokers. Hence it is apparent, that, if the great officers in charge of the provinces do in truth show an example to their civil and military subordinates, and if these do in sincerity search for the drug, and faithfully seize it when found, apprehending the most criminal, and inflicting upon them severe punishment, it is, in this case, not impossible to attain the desired end. And if the officers are indeed active and strenuous in their exertions, and make a point of inflicting punishment on offenders, will the people, however perverse and obstinate they may be, really continue fearless of the laws? No. The thing to be lamented is, instability in maintaining the laws—the vigorous execution thereof being often and suddenly exchanged for indolent laxity.

It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium, by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that where the government enacts a law there is necessarily an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished; any more than we would altogether cease to eat because of diseased stoppage of the throat. When have not prostitution, gambling, treason, robbery, and such-like infractions of the laws, afforded occasions for extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants to benefit themselves, and by falsehood and bribery to amass wealth? Of these there have been frequent instances; and as any instance is discovered, punishment is inflicted. But none surely would contend, that the law, because in such instances rendered ineffectual, should therefore be abrogated! The laws that forbid the people to do wrong may be likened to the dykes which prevent the overflowing of water. If any one, then, urging that the dykes are very old, and therefore useless, we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow! Yet the provincials, when discussing the subject of opium, being perplexed and bewildered by it, think that a prohibition which does not *utterly* prohibit, is better than one which does not effectually prevent, the importation of the drug. Day and night I have meditated on this, and can in truth see no wisdom in the opinion.

It is said that the opium should be admitted, subject to a duty, the importers being required to give it into the hands of the hong merchants, in barter only for merchandise, without being allowed to sell it for money. And this is proposed as a means of preventing money from secretly oozing out of the country. But the English, by whom opium is sold, have been driven out to Lintin so long since as the first year of Taoukwang (1821), when the then governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse discovered and punished the warehousers of opium: so long have they been expelled, nor have they ever since imported it into Macao. Having once suppressed the trade and driven them away, shall we now again call upon them and invite them to return? This would be, indeed, a derogation from the true dignity of government. As to the proposition to give tea in exchange, and entirely to prohibit the exportation of even *foreign* silver, I apprehend that, if the tea should not be found sufficient, money will still be given in exchange for the drug. Besides, if it is in our power to prevent the exportation of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offenses will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further? As to levying a duty on opium, the thing sounds so awkwardly, and reads so unbecomingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

Again, it is said that the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy by natives should be relaxed; and that the direct consequences will be, daily diminution of the profits of foreigners, and in course of time the entire cessation of the trade without the aid of prohibitions. Is it, then, forgotten that it is natural to the common people to prize things heard of only by the ear, and to undervalue those which are before their eyes,—to pass by those things which are near at hand, and to seek after those which are afar off,—and, though they have a thing in their own land, yet to esteem more highly such as come to them from beyond the seas? Thus, in Keängsoo, Chêkeäng, Fuhkeën, and Kwangtung, they will not quietly be guided by the laws of the empire, but must needs make use of foreign money: and this foreign money, though of an inferior standard, is nevertheless exchanged by them at a higher rate than the native sycee silver, which is pure. And although money is cast in China after exactly the same pattern, under the names of Keängsöc pieces, Fuhkeën pieces, and native or Canton pieces, yet this money has not been able to gain currency among the people. Thus, also, the silk and cotton goods of China are not insufficient in quantity; and yet the broadcloths, and camlets, and cotton goods, of the barbarians from beyond the pale of the empire are in constant request. Taking men generally, the minds of all are equally unenlightened in this respect, so that all men prize what is strange, and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use.

From Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, Chêkeäng, Shantung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, memorials have been presented by the censors and other

officers, requesting that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy, and against the preparation of opium; but while nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak; but of that portion of the country I have it in my power to say, that the poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign, and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests. And yet we do not see any diminution in the quantity of silver exported as compared with any previous period; while, on the other hand, the lack of the metal in Yunnan is double in degree what it formerly was. To what cause is this to be ascribed? To what but that the consumers of the drug are very many, and that those who are choice and dainty, with regard to its quality, prefer always the foreign article?

Those of your majesty's advisers who compare the drug to the dried leaf of the tobacco plant are in error. The tobacco leaf does not destroy the human constitution. The profit too arising from the sale of tobacco is small, while that arising from opium is large. Besides, tobacco may be cultivated on bare and barren ground, while the poppy needs a rich and fertile soil. If all the rich and fertile ground be used for planting the poppy; and if the people, hoping for a large profit therefrom, madly engage in its cultivation; where will flax and the mulberry-tree be cultivated, or wheat and rye be planted? To draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain, requisite for the production of food and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error which may be compared to that of a physician, who, when treating a mere external disease, should drive it inwards to the heart and centre of the body. It may in such a case be found impossible even to preserve *life*. And shall the fine fields of Kwangtung, that produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed—those fields in comparison with which the unequal soil of all other parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned?

To sum up the matter,—the wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration: for in the *people* lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury. In the history of Formosa we find the following passage: "Opium was first produced in Kaoutsinne, which by some is said to be the same as Kalapa (or Batavia). The natives of this place were at the first sprightly and active, and being good soldiers, were always successful in battle. But the people called Hung-maou (Red-haired) came thither, and having manufactured opium, seduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it; from these the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation; so that, in process of time, the natives

became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated." Now the English are of the race of foreigners called Hung-maou. In introducing opium into this country, their purpose has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire.* If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step towards ruin.

The repeated instances, within a few years, of the barbarians in question having assumed an attitude of outrageous disobedience; and the stealthy entrance of their ships into the provinces of Fuhkeën, Chêkeäng, Keängnan, and Shantung, and even to Teentsin,—to what motive are these to be attributed? I am truly unable to answer the inquiry. But, reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent [Kanghe], I find the following remark by him, dated the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign (1717):—"There is cause for apprehension, lest, in centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas." I look upwards and admiringly contemplate the gracious consideration of that all-wise progenitor, in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-pervading foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended. Though it is not practicable to put a sudden and entire stop to their commercial intercourse; yet the danger should be duly considered and provided against; the ports of the several provinces should be guarded with all strictness; and some chastisement should be administered, as a warning and foretaste of what may be anticipated.

Under date of the 23d year of Keäking (1818), your majesty's benevolent predecessor, surnamed the Profound, directing the governor of Canton to adopt measures to control and restrain the barbarians, addressed him in the following terms: "The empire, in ruling and restraining the barbarians beyond its boundaries, gives to them always fixed rules and regulations. Upon those who are obedient, it lavishes its rich favors; but to the rebellious and disordered it displays its terrors. Respecting the English trade at Canton, and the anchorage grounds of their merchant-ships and of their naval convoys, regula-

* The following remarks were written by a public Journalist in Calcutta at nearly the same moment Choo Tsun was preparing his memorial in Peking. Speaking of the "External Commerce of the Bengal Presidency," the writer says, "It has been increased by not less than a crore and a half of rupees; yet the pleasure of contemplating so large an increase of national prosperity is not without its alloy, for, the larger item belongs to the *peruicious article of opium*; of which the increase of export from Calcutta alone, in the past year, amounts to *seventy lakhs* of rupees. The amount contributed by this presidency to debase the morals, and destroy the mental and corporeal vigor of the Chinese nation, has now reached *two millions* sterling. *One might almost fancy that the trade arose out of some preconceived plan for stupifying the Chinese, to pave the way for conquering the empire*, if we did not know how predominant the pecuniary passion is in modern nations." The Friend of India, vol. ii. No. 87. Aug. 25th, 1836.

tions have long since been made. If the people, aforesaid, will not obey these regulations, and will persist in opposition to the prohibitory enactments, the first step to be taken is, to impress earnestly upon them the plain commands of government, and to display before them alike both the favors and the terrors of the empire, in order to eradicate from their minds all their covetous and ambitious schemes. If, notwithstanding, they dare to continue in violent and outrageous opposition, and presume to pass over the allotted bounds, forbearance must then cease, and a thundering fire from our cannon must be opened upon them, to make them quake before the terror of our arms. In short, the principle on which the 'far-traveled strangers are to be cherished' is this: always, in the first instance, to employ reason as the weapon whereby to conquer them; and on no account to assume a violent and vehement deportment towards them; but when ultimately it becomes necessary to resort to military force, then, on the other hand, never to employ it in a weak and indecisive manner, lest those towards whom it is exercised should see therein no cause for fear or dread." How clear and luminous are these admonitions, well fitted to become a rule to all generations!

Since your majesty's accession to the throne, the maxim of your illustrious house, that 'horsemanship and archery are the foundations of its existence,' has ever been carefully remembered. And hence the governors, the Lt.-governors, the commanders of the forces, and their subordinates have again and again been directed to pay the strictest attention to the discipline and exercise of the troops, and of the naval forces; and have been urged and required to create by their exertions strong and powerful legions. With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign's anxious care for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is by the desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire, and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated by it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering, their hands trembling, their eyes flowing with child-like tears—be able in any way to attend to their proper exercises? Or how can such men form strong and powerful legions? Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance to the fight, or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instance of the campaign against the Yaou rebels, in the 12th year of our sovereign's reign (1832). In the army sent to Leëncchow, on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium-smokers; so that although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them.

It is said, indeed, that when repealing the prohibitions, the people only are to be allowed to deal in and smoke the drug; and that none of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are to be allowed this

liberty. But this is bad casuistry. It is equal to the popular proverb, "shut a woman's ears, before you steal her ear-rings"—an absurdity. The officers, with all the scholars and the military, do not amount in number to more than one tenth of the whole population of the empire; and the other nine tenths are all the common people. The great majority of those who at present smoke opium are the relatives and dependents of the officers of government, whose example has extended the practice to the mercantile classes, and has gradually contaminated the inferior officers, the military, and the scholars. Those who do not smoke are the common people of the villages and hamlets. If then the officers, the scholars, and the military, alone, be prohibited smoking opium, while all the people are permitted to deal in and smoke it, this will be to give a full license to those of the people who already indulge in it, and to *induce* those who have never yet indulged in the habit to do so. And if it is even now to be feared that some will continue smokers in spite of all prohibitions, is it to be hoped that any will refrain when they are actually induced by the government to indulge in it?

Besides, if the people be at liberty to smoke opium, how shall the officers, the scholars, and the military be prevented? What! of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are there any that are born in civil or military situations, or that are born scholars, or soldiers? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people. To take an instance: let a vacancy occur in a body of soldiers; it must necessarily be filled up by recruits from among the people. But the great majority of recruits are men of no character or respectability, and, if while they were among the common people they were smokers of opium, by what bands of law shall they be restrained when they become soldiers, after the habit has been already contracted, and has so taken hold of them that it is beyond their power to break it off? Such a policy was that referred to by Mencius, when he spoke of "entrapping the people." And if the officers, the scholars, and the military smoke the drug in the quiet of their own families, by what means is this to be discovered or prevented? Should an officer be unable to restrain himself, shall then his clerks, his followers, his domestic servants, have it in their power to make his failing their play-thing, and by the knowledge of his secret to hold his situation at their disposal? We dread falsehood and bribery, and yet we would thus widen the door to admit them. We are anxious to prevent the amassing of wealth by unlawful means, and yet by this policy we would ourselves increase opportunities for doing so. A father, in such a case, would no longer be able to reprove his son, an elder brother to restrain his junior, nor a master to rule his own household. Will not this policy, then, be every way calculated to stir up strife? Or if happily the thing should not run to this extreme, the consequences will yet be equally bad: secret enticement and mutual connivance will ensue, until the very commonness of the practice shall render it no longer a subject of surprise. From this I conclude, that to permit the *people* to deal in the drug and smoke it, at the same

time that the officers, the scholars, and the military are to be prohibited the use of it, will be found to be fraught with difficulties.

At the present moment, throughout the empire, the minds of men are in imminent danger; the more foolish, being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions and cannot be aroused; and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond recovery. Most thoughtfully have I sought for some plan by which to arouse and awaken all, but in vain. While, however, the empire preserves and maintains its laws, the plain and honest rustic will see what he has to fear, and will be deterred from evil; and the man of intelligence and cultivated habits will learn what is wrong in himself, and will refrain from it. And thus, though the laws be declared by some to be but waste paper, yet these their unseen effects will be of no trifling nature. If, on the other hand, the prohibitions be suddenly repealed, and the action which was a crime be no longer counted such by the government, how shall the dull clown and the mean among the people know that the action is still in itself wrong? In open day and with unblushing front, they will continue to use opium till they shall become so accustomed to it, that eventually they will find it as indispensable as their daily meat and drink, and will inhale the noxious drug with perfect indifference. When shame shall thus be entirely destroyed, and fear removed wholly out of the way, the evil consequences that will result to morality and to the minds of men will assuredly be neither few nor unimportant. As your majesty's minister, I know that the laws of the empire, being in their existing state well-fitted to effect their end, will not for any slight cause be changed. But the proposal to alter the law on this subject having been made and discussed in the provinces, the instant effect has been, that crafty thieves and villains have on all hands begun to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about, and pointing the finger, under the notion that, when once these prohibitions are repealed, thenceforth and forever they may regard themselves free from every restraint and from every cause of fear.

Though possessing very poor abilities I have nevertheless had the happiness to enjoy the favor of your sacred majesty, and have, within a space of but few years, been raised through the several grades of the censorate, and the presidency of various courts in the metropolis, to the high elevation of a seat in the Inner Council. I have been copiously embued with the rich dew of favors; yet have been unable to offer the feeblest token of gratitude; but if there is aught within the compass of my knowledge, I dare not to pass it by unnoticed. I feel it my duty to request that your majesty's commands may be proclaimed to the governors and lieut.-governors of all the provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the enforcement of the existing prohibition [against opium]; and to impress on every one, in the plainest and strictest manner, that all who are already contaminated by the vile habit must return and become new men,—that if any continue to walk in their former courses, strangers

to repentance and to reformation, they shall assuredly be subjected to the full penalty of the law, and shall not meet with the least indulgence,—and that on any found guilty of storing up or selling opium to the amount of 1000 catties or upwards, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof, spreading over the seas (among foreigners) may even there produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred majesty to cast a glance on this my respectful memorial.

ART. III. *Memorial of Heu Kew against the admission of opium: scarcity and present value of silver; its exportation caused by the opium trade; plan of stopping it; illegalities and violence of foreigners; and the necessity of their being checked.*

HEU KEW, sub-censor over the military department, kneeling, presents this memorial, to point out the increasing craftiness exercised by foreigners from beyond the seas, in their pursuit of gain, and the daily diminution of the resources of the empire; on which subjects he respectfully offers his views, and requests that the imperial pleasure may be declared to the ministers of the court, commanding them maturely to consider what means shall be adopted to stay the gradual efflux of money, and to enrich the national resources.

Our dynasty has cherished and nurtured the people in peace and prosperity for two centuries. Within the four seas, wealth and opulence have reigned; and the central empire has been enabled from her own resources to supply her own necessities. Westward, to the new territory of Turkestan, and southward, to Yunnan and Kwangtung, there is not a place whither her merchants may not go; nor a spot where her treasures of silver do not circulate. In the reign of Keenlung the treasury was full and abounding, and even the cottage of the peasant enjoyed plenty. But, whereas a tael of pure silver then always passed for 1000 of the standard coin, an equal amount of fine silver now costs from 1400 to 1500 of the same coin. And this fine silver is daily lessening in quantity, and the price still rising from day to day, so that for want of it the officers of government and the people are both alike crippled. Some, in discussing this subject, represent that the change arises from the daily multiplication of births, in consequence of which money is daily more distributed, so that every day renders it in a greater degree inadequate. They forget that, if distributed over China alone, it may after distribution be regathered. But the true cause why silver has of late daily diminished in quantity is, that, having been clandestinely carried out beyond the seas, it has been impossible to gather it in again from the places of its distribution.

According to the information that I have obtained, the sale of opium is the chief medium through which money is drained off, and carried beyond the seas. In the first year of Keäking, the opium sold by foreigners in Kwangtung did not exceed a few hundred chests. The number has now increased to upwards of 20,000 chests. These include three distinct kinds, the 'black-earth,' the 'white-skinned,' and the 'red-skinned.' The price of each chest is from 800 to 900 dollars for the best, and from 500 to 600 for the inferior quality. This applies to what is sold in the province of Kwangtung. With regard to the other provinces, the vessels of which carry on illicit traffic with the receiving ships at Lintin, it is difficult to obtain any full and complete statement respecting them.

The amount annually lost to the country is about ten and some odd millions of money. The money thus lost was, at first, the foreign money wherewith foreigners had previously purchased goods; now it is entirely the fine silver of the inner land, cast into a different form at Macao. Formerly the foreigners imported money, to purchase the merchandise of the country; but now it has all been carried back. In the first instance it was their practice to recast the foreign money, fearing lest any discovery should be made of their transactions; but now they *openly* carry away sycee silver. The ships which, as they bring commodities of all kinds, anchor at Whampoa, used formerly to have opium concealed in their holds. But in the first year of Taoukwang (1821), owing to a petition from one Yë Hangshoo, investigation was made, and the hong merchants have always since then been required to sign bonds, that no foreign vessel which enters the port of Canton has any opium on board; and from that period, the opium-receiving ships have all anchored at Lintin, only going in the 4th or 5th month of every year (May or June) to the anchorage of Kapshuy Moon, and in the 9th month (October) returning to Lintin. In the 13th year (1833), the foreigners discovered that the anchorage of Kunsing Moon affords more perfect security; and since then they have removed their anchorage from Kapshuy Moon to Kunsing Moon. The latter place is near to the villages Kepä and Tangkeä, pertaining to the district of Heängshan; and the anchorage of the ships there, inexpedient as it is for the people resident in those villages, is not the less convenient for such traitorous natives as are in combination with the foreigners.

One method employed to take away money from the country is this: to make out false names of ships that have been to China some years before, ships of which the captains do not exist, and the parties concerned in which are dead; and then to represent, that, at a time stated, *such-an-one* had deposited such an amount of money in the hands of *so-and-so*, and that the applicant now wishes to carry it away, on behalf of the party named. The hong merchants make artful petitions of this kind for the foreigners, and thus obtain permission for them to carry away money. Another method is, to have money put in the same packages with merchandise.

It is since the suppression of the pirates in the reign of Keäkking that opium has gradually blazed up into notice. At first the annual sale of it did not exceed in value a few millions; but of late it has risen to nearly twenty millions; and the increase and accumulation of the amount, from day to day and from month to month, is more than can be told. How can it be otherwise than that the silver of China is lessened, and rendered insufficient, even daily! But that it has gone to this length is altogether attributable to the conduct of the great officers of the above-named province, in times past—to their sloth and remissness, their fearfulness and timidity, their anxiety to show themselves liberal and indulgent,—by which they have been led to neglect obedience to the prohibitory enactments, and to fail in the strict enforcement of the precautionary regulations.

Our empire is wise and good in all its laws and statutes. Regulations have been enacted, in regard to the opening and working of mines, with a view to their entire preservation, because this silver, possessed in China, is not to be found native elsewhere. If then the exhaustible stores of this empire be taken, to fill up an abyss of barbarian nations that never can be filled, unless measures be speedily adopted to prevent it, our loss will, within ten years, amount to thousands of millions, and where will be the end of this continual out-pouring? Some reasoners on the subject say, ‘Cut off entirely commercial intercourse, and sacrifice one million of duties to retain in the country twenty millions of money: the loss will be small, the gain great.’ They forget that the various countries of the west have had commercial intercourse here for many years; and that in one day to put an entire stop to it would not only be derogatory to the high dignity of the celestial empire, but would also, we may fear, be productive of any but good results. Others say, ‘Repeal the prohibitions against opium, let it be given in exchange for merchandise, and let a duty be levied upon it. Thus our money will be saved from waste, and the customs duties will be rendered more abundant, so that a double advantage will be gained.’ These forget, that, since—even while the law tends to prohibit the drug, the fine silver is nevertheless drawn off, and opium abundantly imported—there is room to doubt whether merchandise will always be taken in exchange for the drug, when the sale of it shall be made public, and may be carried on with open eyes and unblushing boldness, and when the importation of it will consequently be greatly increased. A case in point is that of the ships bringing foreign rice to Canton: in consequence of a representation to the throne, these ships are freed from the tax called ‘measurement charge,’ only being required to take return cargoes of *merchandise*; and now the Spanish and other rice-laden ships have made it a practice to take their returns in *specie*. From this we may see, that, whenever the prohibition of opium shall be repealed, an increase in the clandestine drawing off of silver will be an inevitable consequence.

Moreover, if the sale of the drug be not prohibited, neither can men be prevented from inhaling it. And if only the officers of government and the military be prohibited, these being all taken from

the scholars and common people, what ground will be found for any such *partial* prohibition to rest upon? Besides, having a clear conviction that the thing is highly injurious to men, to permit it, notwithstanding, to pervade the empire—nay, even to lay on it a duty—is conduct quite incompatible with the yet uninjured dignity of the great and illustrious celestial empire. In my humble view of the case, the exportation of sycee silver to foreign regions, and the importation of opium, are both rightly interdicted. But local officers, having received the interdicts, have not strenuously enforced them, and hence the one coming in has produced the out-going of the other. If, in place of reprehending their failure strenuously to enforce them, these prohibitions be even now repealed, this will be indeed to encourage the vicious among the people, and to remove all fault from the local officers. But how, when once this prohibition of opium is withdrawn, shall the interdict against the exportation of sycee silver be rendered strict? It cannot be so; for we shall then ourselves have removed the barriers. It were better that, instead of altering and changing the laws and enactments, and utterly breaking down the barrier raised by them, the old established regulations should be diligently maintained, and correction be severely employed.

Now between the inner land and the outer seas, a wide separation exists. The traitorous natives who sell the opium cannot alone, in person, carry on the traffic with the foreign ships. To purchase wholesale, there are brokers. To arrange all transactions, there are the hong merchants. To give orders to be carried to the receiving ships, that from them the drug may be obtained, there are resident barbarians. And to ply to and fro for its conveyance, there are boats called 'fast-crabs.' From the great Ladrone island, at the entrance of the inner seas, to Kumsing Moon, there are all along various naval stations; and to bring in foreign vessels there are pilots appointed; so that it cannot be a difficult thing to keep a constant watch upon the ships. And even though from Fuhkeën and Chêkeäng, from the ports of Shanghai and Teentsin, vessels should repair directly to the receiving ships to trade with them, yet, situated as their anchorage is, in the inner seas, what is there to prevent such vessels from being observed and seized? And yet, of late years, there has been, only a solitary instance, namely during the late governor Loo's administration, when Teën Poo, magistrate of the district of Heängshan, in conjunction with the naval force, captured one single boat laden with opium. With this exception, we have seen but little of seizures. The reason is, that the men who are appointed to observe and watch for offenders receive presents to pass over all things, and observe nothing.

From times of old it has been a maxim, in reference to ruling barbarians, to deal closely with what is within, but to deal in generals with that which is without,—first to govern one's self, and *then* only to govern others. We must then, in the first place, establish strict regulations for the punishment of offenses; and afterwards we may turn to the traitorous natives who sell the drug, the hong merchants who arrange the transactions, the brokers who purchase whole-

sale, the boat-people who convey the drug, and the naval officers who receive bribes; and, having with the utmost strictness discovered and apprehended these offenders, we must inflict on them the severest punishments of the law. In this way, the inhabitants of the inner land may be awed and purified.

The resident barbarians dwell separately in the foreign factories.

In the * * * * * and besides these there are, I apprehend, many others. The treatment of those within having been rendered severe, we may next turn to these resident foreigners, examine and apprehend them, and keep them in arrest; then acquaint them with the established regulations, and compel them, within a limited period, to cause all the receiving ships anchored at Lintin to return to their country:—they should be required also to write a letter to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people; that the celestial empire has inflicted on all the traitorous natives who sold it the severest penalties; that with regard to themselves, the resident foreigners, the government taking into consideration that they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death on them; but that if the opium-receiving ships will desist from coming to China, they shall be indulgently released and permitted to continue their commercial intercourse as usual; whereas, if they will again build receiving vessels and bring them hither to entice the natives, the commercial intercourse granted them in teas, silks, &c., shall assuredly be altogether interdicted, and on the resident foreigners of the said nation the laws shall be executed capitally. If commands be issued of this plain and energetic character, in language strong, and in sense becoming, though their nature be the most abject—that of a dog or a sheep, yet, having a care for their own lives, they will not fail to seek the gain, and to flee the danger.

Some think this mode of proceeding too severe, and fear lest it should give rise to a contest on our frontiers. Again and again I have revolved this subject in my mind, and reconsidered how that, while in their own country no opium is smoked, the barbarians yet seek to poison therewith the people of the central flowery land; and that while they bring to us no foreign silver, they yet would take away our native coin; and I have therefore regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf. Of late, the foreign vessels have presumed to make their way into every place, and to cruise about in the inner seas. Is it likely that in this they have no evil design of spying out our real strength, or weakness? If now they be left thus to go on from step to step, and their conduct be wholly passed over, the wealth of the land must daily waste away and be diminished. And, if when our people are worn out, and our wealth rendered insufficient, any difficulty should then, even by the slightest chance, as one in ten thousand, turn up, how, I would ask, shall it be warded off? Rather than to be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought

now, while yet our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our government; nor (it may be hoped) have any longer the means of exercising their petty arts and devices.

Regarding this as a subject of importance, I have given it the most attentive investigation: and having formed my own views thereon, it is befitting that I should delineate and clearly state them. To determine as to their correctness, or otherwise, it is my duty to request that your majesty's pleasure may be declared to the ministers of the court, requiring them with full purpose of heart to take into consideration these views. Laying them before your sacred majesty, I prostrate implore my sovereign to cast a glance upon them. A respectful memorial.

Supplementary Statement.

Furthermore, in regard to the residence of the foreign barbarians at Macao, the prohibitory enactments are very full and clear. But I have heard that it has of late been usual for the barbarians to sit in large native sedans, and to hire natives to carry them: also to hire native females for purposes of prostitution, who are called 'ta-fan.' Moreover, their merchant ships are not allowed by the regulations to discharge their cargoes clandestinely at Macao; but of late it has become customary for only those ships to make their anchorage at Whampoa which have return cargoes of merchandise to take away; while the others never enter the port, nor announce their arrival. These last send their finer and lighter goods, on board the boats called 'fast-crabs,' from Kumsing Moon and other places, for sale. The coarser and heavier goods, they unlawfully send in cargo boats direct to the Stadt-house (in Chinese *Sti'*) at Macao; after which they call upon the hong merchants to hire chop-boats to convey them to the provincial city, and exchange them for other goods,—thus not only evading the measurement charge and duties, but also avoiding examination on the part of the native authorities.

But the extreme case is this:—at Macao, on the outside of the gate called the Ditch-gate, are very numerous graves of the natives. In the second month of the present year the foreigners made a wide road there, levelling entirely the graves. The sub-prefect stationed at the place reported this to his superiors; and, at his request, a deputy was sent to visit the spot in concert with him, and to reprehend the foreigners. These, however, would not make acknowledgment of their offense; and when the officers sent men to repair the tombs, they even led on their barbarian slaves, and beat the native police and people. Afterwards a linguist was sent to admonish them authoritatively; and then only they sent an address to the officer, seeking to conciliate him. Such outrageous, overbearing, and lawless conduct arises wholly from this, that the local officers thinking forbearance to be the most quiet policy, seek only to obtain present freedom from disturbance, and hence give occasion for being treated with slight and contempt.

Macao is within the jurisdiction of the district Heängshan, and on all sides of it there are naval stations. For all its daily necessities, it is compelled to look up to us. The compradors employed by the foreigners there, are natives to whom permits are granted by the government. Should, therefore, the least insubordination be shown by the foreigners, there would be no difficulty in immediately having their lives in our hands. I have been told that a former magistrate of that district, named Päng Choo, on account of the pride and profligacy of these barbarians, removed from among them all the native dealers and merchants, and allowed no commercial intercourse on the part of natives with them; till the barbarians, trembling with fear, were at once brought to order. This is yet in the recollection of the gentry of Heängshan. Since a district magistrate could effect thus much, would the barbarians dare even to move, if the great officers of the country would make a display of their power? Another instance occurs to me. The barbarians at Canton built a quay, outside the city, a work which went on for months without any hindrance being made to it. But when your majesty's minister Choo Kweiching was sent thither as lieut.-governor, he went to the spot, set down his sedan there, and commanded the instant destruction of the work; and the barbarians, subdued by his unostentatious firmness, dared not even to utter a word. Again, the year before last, when Lord Napier brought ships of war up to Whampoa, your majesty's minister Loo Kwän, the governor, stationed the naval forces so as to present a close unbroken line of defense; and the barbarians were at once filled with dismay, repented their error, and requested a permit to leave the port. We see from these instances that the barbarians have never yet failed to succumb.

Now, to make ostentatious show of terrors is, it is true, calculated to ruin affairs: but to pass faults over in silence is, on the other hand, calculated to nourish depravity. If the old regulations be not rendered conspicuous, and the prohibitions be not strictly enforced, these barbarians will end with doing whatever they please, imagining that there is no limit to forbearance. The barbarians, pluming themselves on their great wealth, extensively practice bribery and corruption, and have many traitorous natives for their agents, and many of the police in combination with them. Hence, if a talented, intelligent, and determined officer were, in the first place, to punish severely the Chinese traitors, we may hope that he would thus be able at once to overwhelm the spirit of the barbarians.

This further exposition of my feeble and obscure views, it behoves me to add to my previous representation, and, prostrate, lay it before your sacred majesty, hoping that my sovereign will cast a glance thereon. A respectful memorial.

AAR. IV. *Imperial edict, referring the memorials of Choo Tsun and Heu Kew to the chief provincial officers of Canton; with brief remarks on the present state of the question.*

THE counselor Choo Tsun has presented a memorial, requesting that the severity of the prohibitory enactments against opium may be increased. The sub-censor Heu Kew also has laid before us a respectful representation of his views: and, in a supplementary statement, a recommendation to punish severely Chinese traitors.

Opium, coming from the distant regions of barbarians, has pervaded the country with its baneful influence, and has been made a subject of very severe prohibitory enactments. But, of late, there has been a diversity of opinion in regard to it, some requesting a change in the policy hitherto adopted, and others recommending the continuance of the severe prohibitions. It is highly important to consider the subject carefully in all its bearings, surveying at once the whole field of action, so that such measures may be adopted as shall continue forever in force, free from all failure.

Let T'ang and his colleagues anxiously and carefully consult together upon the recommendation to search for, and with utmost strictness apprehend, all those traitorous natives who sell the drug, the hong merchants who arrange the transactions in it, the brokers who purchase it by wholesale, the boat-men who are engaged in transporting it, and the marines who receive bribes; and having determined on the steps to be taken in order to stop up the source of the evil, let them present a true and faithful report. Let them also carefully ascertain and report, whether the circumstances stated by Hen Kew in his supplementary document, in reference to the foreigners from beyond the seas, be true or not, whether such things as are mentioned therein have or have not taken place. Copies of the several documents are to be herewith sent to those officers for perusal; and this edict is to be made known to T'ang and Ke, who are to enjoin it also on Wan, the superintendent of maritime customs. Respect this.

Before introducing the next two articles, a few remarks seem necessary in order to afford our distant readers, who may be interested in the question respecting the introduction of opium, a correct idea of its present position. It can be shown by a series of imperial edicts, that, during the last forty years, the government of China has endeavored to prevent both the introduction and the use of the drug. This is affirmed by the counselor Choo Tsun; who, furthermore, declares that the quantity of opium annually produced in his native province, Yunnan, "cannot be less than several thousand chests." Hence it is evident that, notwithstanding the prohibitions, the cultivation, importation, and use, of opium, have for some years been rapidly on the increase. What has been the effect of those interdicts,

so often repeated since 1796, this is not the place to inquire; counselor Choo Tsun, however, is doubtless right in supposing that their revocation would be the cause of increasing the importation and the cultivation of opium, and consequently its use. But a different opinion has been advanced. Some time previous to the appearance of Heu Naetse's memorial, it was rumored that individuals, concerned in the administration of the government, deemed it politic to admit the drug through the custom-house, in order to benefit the revenue, to prevent smuggling, and to diminish the use of opium. But it remained for the vice-president of the sacrificial court, Heu Naetse, to take the lead in openly avowing these sentiments, and for the provincial government of Canton—governor Táng Tingching, lieutenant-governor Ke Kung, the chief commissioners of finance and justice Altsingah and Wang Tsingleën, and Wán the superintendent of maritime customs—to second them. While these local officers were engaged in drawing up their report, Choo Tsun and Heu Kew came forward (as it was expected some would do) on the opposite side of the question and in support of the existing prohibitions. The report of the governor and his colleagues had scarcely left Canton, when (October 16th,) the dispatch containing the mandate at the head of this article, and the preceding counter-memorials (art. ii. and iii.), was put into their hands. What report the "provincials" have sent up to the emperor in reply to this last edict we do not know. It is supposed by some, that the emperor has already entrusted the governor with discretionary power to admit it or not, and that his excellency, partly as a compliment to the court, and partly to screen himself from future animadversion, has referred back to Peking for express commands. Be this as it may, most vigorous efforts, as on some former occasions, are being made to stop the smuggling—not only of opium, but of other articles which, in consequence of high duties, have been "continually oozing out of the country." The amount of opium annually imported, and the manner of doing it, are tolerably well detailed in the memorials, though that brought from Turkey has been put to the account of Madras. The statements about casting money at Macao are false; and we doubt whether that respecting carrying it away, "by putting it in the same packages with merchandise," is correct: what the hong merchants may have done, "it is difficult for us to determine." We have omitted the names of the nine merchants specified in the memorial of Heu Kew, chiefly for two reasons; 1st, because it is not plain who were intended, some of the names having been applied to different parties by different individuals; and 2dly, because the list is a partial one, including some who have had but little to do with the trade, and omitting others who have been extensively engaged in it. Though many of the foreign residents have been concerned in the traffic, yet that there is in this community a strong feeling counter to it, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that the next two articles are from merchants who have long resided in Canton, and that (as we are assured on good authority,) the essay published by archdeacon Dealtry in Calcutta was written in China by a British merchant.

ART. V. *Remarks on the opium trade, contained in a letter written in reply to those of A Reader, published in the Repository for December, 1836.* From a Correspondent.

[A Reader will perceive from this and the following article, that his remarks have not failed to attract attention; how far they are refuted by the remarks of "Another Reader," and by those of "V. P. M." we leave it for him and our other readers to form each their own opinions: the following is the letter of our Correspondent.]

To the Editor of the Chinese Repository,
SIR, Being a well-wisher to all free discussion, and convinced that a patient hearing of both sides of a cause is the best way to arrive at a fair conclusion, I have been glad to see that you have commenced a discussion as to the merits of the opium trade. In this country, as in India, any one daring enough to attack this is sure to have arrayed against him a powerful host of antagonists; for interest is a wakeful advocate. Your impartiality is proved by your admission of what you call a "defense," the sophistry of which, as of much that has been said on the subject, may be easily exposed. This I will endeavor to do.

Were the traffickers in this poison,—for such no one in possession of his senses can deny it to be, to state plainly that they deal in it merely as a matter of gain; and that, with them, this determination supersedes every consideration of right or wrong, then their premises could be at once seen, and opposition or reasoning would be vain, since all conviction would be fruitless; but when, as now, the practice, evil in itself, and necessarily felt to be so, is upheld by anxious sophistication, it is but right that it be exposed. I have looked in vain throughout the letter of your Correspondent, "A Reader," for any more cogent argument than that of the hired bravo, "I do not see that I am doing any harm: if I did not take the profit, some one else, not so thin skinned, would"—which may be broadly pronounced the most mischievous, false, and dangerous principle to morality that has ever been invented. What! because some poor reprobate or outcast may be found to embark in deeds of darkness, can that be quoted as an excuse, an argument, for men, for gentlemen, whose wealth, or means of obtaining it, remove them from, at least, vulgar temptation? Truly, a pretty argument! The main danger, from your Correspondent's remarks, would appear to be, lest the supply of China with this drug "should be thrown into the hands of desperadoes, pirates, and marauders, instead of a body of capitalists:" a highly logical and conclusive argument, no doubt; and one that should, of course, satisfy the Chinese government of the purity and kind care of the present purveyors; though how and why it could be worse, were "the marauders," and so forth, to be the carriers, it would puzzle all the Chinese and foreigners to boot, to determine. Were not great capital, skill,

and enterprise embarked in this trade, it would never have arrived at its present magnitude; and this is, as far as I know, all the difference that the management of the trade *by gentlemen* has caused; and it may be questioned whether the Chinese could so accurately distinguish between these polite purveyors and “the desperadoes and marauders,” as A Reader does. In what other light can they claim to appear? Constantly, avowedly, notoriously, in the practice of a trade, directly opposed to the laws of the empire; not less opposed to morality and propriety; the purveyors of a most powerful incentive to vice; a fierce moral destroying agent—on what has the opium merchant to plume himself, beyond his brother smuggler and law breaker, the contraband gin-importer into Great Britain? Nay, on some points, his unenlightened and despised *collaborateur* in the cause has the advantage, at any rate in the estimation of those engaged in these habits. The one risks his life—the other, shielding himself behind the corruption of the local officers, or the weakness of the marine, carries on deeds of unlawfulness, without even the risk or excitement of personal danger; and coolly comments on the injustice of the Chinese government in refusing the practice of international law and reciprocity to countries, whose subjects it knows only as engaged in constant and gross infraction of laws, the breaking of which affects the basis of all good government, the morals of the country. How can foreigners presume to hope for a patient or fair hearing, at Peking, so long as this charge can, with truth, be brought against them? Have they not themselves closed the doors; and yet now do they complain at the natural consequences of their own acts? It is well known to foreigners that there are, at Peking, in immediate communication with the emperor, men of talent to whom the miserable intrigues and falsehoods of the government of Canton can be as nothing, men who are patriots—Chinese patriots, that is,—not men whose knowledge is comprised in the routine of war and a ready practice of its horrors, but men whose earnest wish is to make their native country as peaceful and as happy as possible.

Contrast the opinion which such enlightened men must form of our genteel opium smugglers, with the picture which would be drawn by themselves, and let reason judge between the two.—The Chinese moralist or statesman, on one side, would look with correct and merited indignation on the “gain-seeking foreigner,” resorting to his country, with a deadly drug, to poison the health and subvert the morality of a nation, to which he arrogantly claimed superiority. The foreigner, on the other side, would look down on the philosopher; tell him that he was a Christian, and an educated gentleman; and if this failed to convince, he might probably bother him with a half-understood and ill-applied quotation from Paley, about tobacco and fish. For the time, he would forget the pure and perfect morality inculcated by the Teacher of his religion;—“Thou shalt not do evil that good may come;” and “Do unto others as you would wish that they should do unto you;”—and would, from time to time, indulge in tirades against the tyranny of the Chinese, and their aversion to allow the Europeans a residence amongst them; call on his government, to interfere,

and subvert such a state of things; prudently shutting his eyes to the degraded state in which foreigners must appear, to all sober-minded Chinese, as the panders to one of the most vitiated, depraved, and dangerous tastes in the world.

Reverse the picture. Suppose, by any chance, that Chinese junks were to import into England, as a foreign and fashionable luxury, so harmless a thing as arsenic, or corrosive sublimate—that, after a few years, it became a rage—that thousands—that hundreds of thousands used it—and that its use was, in consequence of its bad effects, prohibited. Suppose that, in opposition to the prohibition, junks were stationed in the St. George's channel, with a constant supply, taking occasional trips to the isle of Wight, and the mouth of the Thames, when the governmental officers were sufficiently attentive to their duty, at the former station, to prevent its introduction there. Suppose the consumption to increase annually, and to arouse the attention of government, and of those sound thinking men who foresaw misery and destruction from the rapid spread of an insidious, unprofitable, and dangerous habit. Suppose, in fact, that, *mutato nomine*, all, which has been 'achieved here,' had been practiced there. Suppose some conservators of the public morals to be roused, at last, and to remonstrate against its use and increase; and that, among the nation sending forth this destroyer, to prey on private happiness, and public virtue, one or two pious and well-meaning *bonzes*, were to remonstrate with their countrymen, "à la archdeacon Dealtry," on the enormity of their conduct—how wonderfully consolatory to one party, and manswerable to the other, must be the remark of the well-dressed and well-educated Chinese merchant: "Hai ya, my friend, do not you see my silk dress and the crystal knob on my cap: do you not know that I have read, and can quote, Confucius, Mencius, and all the Five Books: do you not see that the barbarians are passionately fond of arsenic; and that they will have it;—that they go so far as to pay for it; and can you, for one moment doubt that it would not be much worse for them if, instead of my bringing it, it were left to the chance, needy, and uncertain supply, which low "men of no capital" could afford to bring?" It is possible that the Chinese *litrati* might not have a translation of Paley; but I will answer that he could find some work, to extract from, quite as little to the purpose; and having thus bewildered his adversary, by comparison and argument, fairly knock him down with a mass of figures showing, that by a calculation, made in happy and most utter ignorance of the premises, not more than one person in 279 $\frac{1}{2}$ could manage to get hold of the beneficial and delightful drug.

I have seen such a parade of figures now more than once; and, though it is barely worth the trouble, yet it may be as well to expose the fallacy which it involves. It is assumed that in China there are 300,000,000 people, and that 33,320,000 taels of the smokeable extract are imported yearly, making "of victimised smokers," as A Reader truly calls them, 912,000, at the rate of 365 taels each, or 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds weight per annum, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per month, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce

per day; or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce per head for each and all of the immense population of China from the remotest parts of Tartary and Bokhara to the sea, besides the native poison, grown in the country, which is supposed to be not inconsiderable.* Of the 300,000,000 in China, &c., more than one half may be safely put down as children and youth; of the remainder, one half may be women; leaving, probably, not more than fifty millions of men: thus, supposing that *all the men in China* could and would use the drug, the number of the "victimised," I in 912, is brought to 1 in 150; and from this, an enormous deduction must be made for the aged, sick and poor, and for those too far removed from the head quarters of the importers and sea-board to be able to obtain it, at even enormous prices. It is, in fact, unlikely that it can as yet penetrate, in large quantities, much beyond the maritime provinces; and if only their population is taken, it will be seen that the ratio of "victimised smokers," will be prodigious; though, even allowing the validity of the argument, I can scarcely admire a defense resting solely on the fact that only *a share* has been contaminated, and not *all*! This is much on the same principle as that of the girl who, being reproved for enriching the parish with a child, excused herself on the ground of its being "a very small one." The morality or immorality of the practice is unaffected by the extent to which it is carried—it is just or indefensible *per se*, whether it spreads over one village or ten; and not, as an arithmetical question, as to the number, within whose reach the drug is put.

The comparison of opium to wine is, I beg to say, mere "fudge," and the attempt at argument, thence deduced, no better than nonsense: but, even did the parallel hold, what would it prove? That because people in the western world poison themselves with wine, it is right and expedient that the Chinese should be poisoned with opium. A pretty corollary; and an equally sound deduction! As to 'depopulating the Rhine;' 'prohibiting barley,' &c., there would be no more use in doing all this, than there is in talking and writing about it. Barley and the grape are produced for the purpose of innocent enjoyment. Where is the man, so ignorant or audacious, as to say that he believes the same of opium? Such is the opinion entertained of it, *in all countries where it is used*, that he, who has once

* I am told, *au fait*, as to this, by Chinese, that it is but rarely that a man can be found who can consume a tael weight of prepared opium in twenty-four hours; and that, in any case, no one could long continue to do so. His death would prevent it. A mace weight is, it is said, a tolerably good allowance; and twice to thrice that quantity entitles one to the rank of a confirmed opium-smoker, "a hard goer," in fact. One mace will fill twelve pipes. This would bring down A Reader's estimate, say to 1 in 25 or 30. 'This amount of "excitement," to so sober a people, as the Chinese are admitted to be, appears to me terrific, especially if its use is nearly confined to only parts of the country. As to the effects of this drug on the Chinese, I would recommend "A Reader" to look at Gutzlaff's account of it, in his junk-voyage along the coast of China. He may there "sup full of its horrors." Or if he has not been in a public den of opium smokers, let him see a picture of a mad-house, as shown in one, before he apologises for it as a harmless or elegant diversion. The awful picture, in "Anastasius," of one of these dens in Turkey, is a correct one also of those which I have seen in this part of the world.'

become a prey to the infatuation, is regarded as lost to society, his family, and himself—he is looked on as a reprobate, a debauchee, an incurable; and experience daily proves, by the innumerable wrecks which the fatal habit marks on its page, the truth of the observation. I will refer you for proof of this, to all the writers* on Turkey, Persia, and other countries, where the habit prevails. You will find all agree in the remark, above made. Does not our own experience confirm it? Who would have in his house a servant who smokes opium? Is not such a man a marked one, by his own countrymen and foreigners; and is he not looked down on, with pity or scorn, in consequence? The Chinese, who may be allowed to know somewhat of their own people, denounce the habit, as prejudicial and destructive. When once it is indulged in, renunciation is all but impossible; and the appetite, “growing by what it feeds on,” increases till premature decay and death close the scene of dissipation and vice. This picture is by no means so agreeable a one to contemplate, as the *fancy* one of using it—being merely “a rational and sociable article of luxury and hospitality;” but, what it wants in pleasing imagery, it makes up in truth. Ask any Chinese (who does not use this rational and sociable thing,) what it is, and hear what he will tell you. Read the manly and vigorous representations of Choo Tsun, and others; see what an opinion these Chinese patriots form of this amiable “article of luxury and hospitality;” and judge between their lessons of wisdom and experience, and the cobweb excuses of arguers, “laying the flattering unction to their souls,” by attempting to make the wrong appear the better reason. What would a benevolent and sober-minded Chinese think, were the sophistry of the defenders of this trade translated for him? Where would he find the high principled and high minded inhabitant of the far off countries? How could he be made to comprehend that the believers in and practisers of Christian morality advocated a trade so ruinous to his country? That the government of India, of an empire of 100 millions of subjects, compelled the growth of it by unwilling ryots; and that, instead of its being brought to China by “desperadoes, pirates, and marauders,” it was purveyed by a body of “capitalists, not participating certainly in what they carry, but in fact supplying an important branch of the Indian revenue safely and peaceably;” that the British government, and others, encouraged it; and that the agents in the traffic were constantly residing at Canton, protected by the government whose laws they outraged; but monstrously indignant and appealing to their governments, if No. 2 longcloths is classed as No. 1, through the desperate villainy of some paltry custom-house servant. Truly,” might he say, “the old Books must be right—the foreigners are not to be governed by the same laws as the Chinese: they must be ruled by misrule;” and who could deny the justice of a conclusion, thus arrived at? And what could be the answer of an ambassador to Peking, from a foreign power, sent to demand a commercial treaty, or redress for any grievance, real or supposed, when taxed

* Hope. Chardin. Fraser. Madden. Raffles and a host of others.

with the acts of his countrymen, towards China, by the supply of this life-consuming drug? It is a case that may occur.

We have not, as yet, however, raked out the real fallacy. Like most others, it hides itself, and shuns observation. The saving clause in the opium-smuggling profession is that it is, not a *vulgar* one. It is a wholesale trade. Sales are made in thousands of dollars' worth. The amount is gentlemanly. Single balls would be low. Sales by retail would be indefensible. The seller of a pipe or two, the poor pander to a depraved appetite, should be pursued by justice—for none of these can be gentlemen. That which, sold in chests, is commerce, and to be applauded, becomes vulgar and mean when doled out in small lots. Admirable logic! with which one may hug one's self, satisfied that it is nothing more than "supplying an important branch of the Indian revenue safely and peaceably." As Shakespeare has it:

Plate vice with gold,
And the strong lance of justice harmless breaks;
Clothe it in rags, a pigmy's sword doth pierce it.

Thus he who would shrink with angry scorn from a comparison with the gin or tobacco-smugglers of England, or the salt-smuggler of India, advocates, as harmless and blameless, a traffic as illegal as they are, but a hundred times more fatal; and this because he thinks that, not being himself the actual agent in the business, he has a right to acquit himself of all wrongful intention. He only gives a piece of paper, and receives dollars. The opium he does not see. It is made by the Indian government; and, if he did not bring it, some one else would.

As to the assumed gentility of this trade, a few words may be added. A Reader insists on it that it is "a rational and sociable article of luxury and hospitality." Fine words, as old Cobbett would say. Highly sociable, doubtless, however we may question the rationality of two or more Chinese lying down on their backs, in open day, to inhale a smoke, nauseous and disgusting, which has the effect of stupefying and brutifying them, till their senses are restored by another "go" at "the social and rational." Fancy a costermonger doing the amiable to a fair one from Billingsgate, in the forenoon, in the shape of three halfporth of Booth's best, and you have a fair parallel to the sociability and rationality of A Reader's opium-consumers. If the purveyors of opium said nothing, or did they only defend the practice on the ground that it gave a profit, which they coveted, not much need be said; but sophistication is a bad substitute for truth. The trade may be a profitable one—it may be of importance to the Indian government, and to individuals—but to attempt a defense on the ground of its not having a dangerous and pernicious influence on health and morals, is to say what cannot be borne out, by fact or argument; and what all, who reason on the subject, cannot but feel to be an impotent attempt to defend what is, in itself, manifestly indefensible.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

ANOTHER READER.

ART. VI. *Premium for an Essay on the Opium Trade, showing its effects on the commercial political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, and pointing out the course they ought to pursue in regard to it.*

[100 £ have been placed at our disposal, and are now offered as a premium for the *best essay* on the trade in opium. The persons to whom the essays must be transmitted for examination and awarding the premium, and the period within which they must be transmitted, will be named in our number for February or March. As the subject to be discussed is one of great interest, affecting the welfare of the two greatest empires in the world—the British and the Chinese—affecting their commerce, their governments, and their morals, it will, we hope, engage the attention of those who are able to do it ample justice. Whether the period shall be so extended as to allow the people of the west, in Europe and America, time to investigate the question; and whether the essays shall be referred for examination to persons there, or in India, or here, or to one in each of the places, are points about which we are undetermined and will like to be advised. The proposition made to us for offering the premium is contained in the following communication.]

MR. EDITOR,—An abler pen than mine must do justice to the all-important subject, the investigation of which has been now commenced in your Repository: I mean the trade in opium. But I cannot refrain from tendering some remarks in reference to such advocacy of its cause, as appeared in your last number. Your Correspondent reasons as though opium was a real good to the *many* in China, and baneful only to a *few* “abusers of it.” Now is there another man in Canton who believes this? I pay no regard to A Reader’s fallacious cipherings: I appeal to every man’s common sense upon the subject. Your Correspondent says, that the emperor and his viceroys, for the last twenty years, have shut their eyes to the subject. Is this true? And if true, why shut their eyes? Was it to prevent their seeing a “*harmless luxury*?” No, Mr. Editor, their eyes have been wide open to see, and their ears to hear, till they have tingled with the cry, from every corner of the land, against the baneful effects of “*barbarian poison*.” Hence that mighty stir, whose agitations have almost expelled some of us from our domicils in China; and hence *that picture of misery* which might well mantle our cheeks with shame, while passing to and from the hong we are compelled to see sitting there, crouching beneath his burden, the tortured Aming, suffering for the iniquities into which our cupidity has led him. Truly, this is a “*special edict*.”

But, argues A Reader, there is a principle acknowledged and acted upon by the governments of France and England, which the writer of the Calcutta article in his zeal has quite lost sight of,—it is, that *gaming-houses*, and *gin-palaces*, and the like, should be by license kept in the hands of the respectable. I cannot enter upon the turpitude of those parts of the “*most civilized governments*,” which “*license*” the doing of evil. It has been supposed, that the object of these

governments is to avail of vice in order to obtain revenue. But your Correspondent charitably alleges that it is to keep the administration of evil in the hands of the respectable, and therefore infers it would be better to let the opium trade be where it is, than to shame the present smugglers of it from their employ, and so drive it into the hands of "desperadoes and marauders." I do not know how A Reader's associates will fancy his thus placing them in the "marauder's" chair, and that *without license*, except it be one to flee the country. But the amount of his plea is, "I acknowledge the trade in opium is an evil, but if I do not engage in it, others will;" and this, Mr. Editor, is the plea by which many—many in other respects highly valuable members of society, conceal from themselves their guiltiness before God and their own consciences. To this plea I would answer in the language of another; "If others will do it, *let* others do it; if this unprincipled traffic will be in the hands of unprincipled men, if it is not in our hands, THERE LET IT BE, where it should be. If I do it not, others will! Is this a correct principle of conduct? Is this the rule of heaven to direct the doings of man? Have I a right to do evil because other men will? Other men commit murder, have I a right to do it? Other men prey on unoffending Africa, and bear human sinews across the ocean to be sold, have I a right to do it? Apologist for the trade in opium! will you participate with the traffickers in human flesh upon your own principle? Apply this excuse to the case of a bookseller. The question might be suggested whether it was a moral or immoral business, to deal in infidel, profligate, and obscene books. True, it might be alledged that they did evil, and only evil continually; it might be said that the love neither of God nor of man would prompt to it. He might be pointed to the fact that they *always* tended to corrupt the morals of youth, to blight the hopes of parents, to fill up houses of infamy. But then he might with commendable coolness add, 'If I do not engage in it others will, it contributes to my livelihood, to the support of the press, to the promotion of business; and I am not responsible for *their* reading the books, nor for their desire for them. I am pursuing the way in which my fathers walked before me, and it is *my living, and I will do it.*' Now wherein does such a plea differ, from the apologist for the opium trade, when he says, "If I do not engage in it, others will." Alas! we have learned how to estimate its force in regard to slavery and obscenity; but we shrink from its application in regard to the 'intoxicating course' of opium."

I have done with A Reader's '*arguments*,' but I cannot, Mr. Editor, so leave the subject. I have seen much in your paper about the wrongs of foreigners in China, but little about the *wrongs of China* at their hands. With these you might fill your pages, and so you will as you go on in your investigation respecting opium. It is a serious subject, and with whatever doubting "ifs" you may affect to soften its unwelcome introduction to your pages, you know it is evil; evil of the deepest die, and you will not fail to speak of it as you ought. The hour has come, and there is no "fitter moment" for you to speak

out upon the subject. There is not a greater barrier to the introduction of the gospel into China by the hands of foreigners, (*and who else is to introduce it?*) than the trade in opium by foreigners bearing the Christian name. We all laud, and justly too, the Ophthalmic Hospital, and rejoice in its influence as commending the foreign interests to China. It is by well-doing that we are thus putting to silence the silly boastings and disdain of China; but how is this influence paralyzed by our standing in the view of the government and nation as a band of smugglers, active agents of that evil, which is the presumed procuring cause of all the financial embarrassments of the country, carrying dismay, and poverty, and wretchedness, through its length and breadth. Against this barrier, as well as against those of China's own erection, a stand must be made. *It must be taken out of the way.* If doing so, cost "odium and infamy" to those who are its chief supporters, it cannot be helped. "Odium and infamy" will follow in the train of vice; but *so* to hold up the present dealers in it is not the *object* of the Protestants against the opium traffic. They would, if they could, cover with the mantle of charity the blindness of their western brethren; they would esteem it not to be willful, but that it is not so, does not make it the less pernicious, or their duty the less imperative. The merits of this question might be rested upon the single fact, that, by all the moral feelings of China, the introduction of opium is accounted an abominable thing. I care not whether it is so or not (though it is plain to every man's sense that it is), but the simple fact that it is so accounted of in China, by the laws and moral sense of the people, makes it the imperative duty of Christian men, not only to wash their own hands of it; but to prevent, if they can by just means, the connection of the evil with the Christian name.

In connection with it, what do our useful knowledge and education societies, medical missionary societies, and our other benevolent operations become, but means by which this mystery of iniquity is covered up from view, and by which the conscience is blinded, and we are induced to think we are doing well, when we are the principal abettors of the greatest evil that exists in reference to China, and as connected with it, are a complete obscuration of light and truth from it. All our pretensions of doing good to China are vain, while we remain connected with opium. We can only be accounted of by the nation as hollow-hearted hypocrites. Let charity be heard, when she pleads that the good these societies might effect may not be nullified by our ill-doing, and that our *partial* good be not permitted to conceal from us our *real* character, while we continue smuggling venders of opium. Let us not be driven by the scoffer at our inconsistency, as I fear some have been driven, from our support of these societies. That be far from us. Rather let us rise and build with redoubled energy, and let us show the world the imperative *need* of those for whom we labor, by ceasing from every thing that would obstruct our work and as laboring for Him who inspects our works, to give to every one, *according as they have been.*

Mr. Editor, let us seriously consider that it is not with us as a foreign community as it has been. We live upon the threshold of another era. In the enjoyment of a free trade with 'the mother country,' we are brought nigher to those happy influences which constitute her a rich dispenser of blessings to the world, and not one of the least derivable from our greater freedom of intercourse with her, will be the consciousness of her more intimate inspection. Too far removed, hitherto, from the hallowing influences of Christianity, the distance, by means of steam-navigation and other improvements, is daily lessening, and our obligation to be guided by them becoming stronger and stronger. The spirit which has abolished slavery in Europe and is abolishing it in America, and the spirit which has given a death-blow to intemperance in America, and is fast extending its influence in Europe, is approaching us, and it is a spirit of might, for it is the spirit of truth, and she is destined to overcome all evil. Let us not be insensible to our new position, let us hear the call she makes upon us; and having done evil, let us do it no more. The times of ignorance, God has winked at, but now makes the path of duty plain and distinct. The fate of China is dependent upon the issues of foreign action upon her, not, seemingly, of western governments but of western merchants: and their impulse will be as is their character. If this be so, affectingly solemn is our responsibility. If we are truly and consistently benevolent, we shall have a voice and an influence to effect the most salutary changes. But if otherwise, if our character must continue to be associated with opium and the smuggler, then has Christianity in us a difficulty to surmount more potent to nullify all her efforts, than all that the policy of the prince of darkness, has yet devised to hold China in chains. God forbid that he should *thus* conquer.

I would conclude, but the remarks of the Editor of the "Press" upon the Calcutta writer, have just been put into my hand, and they require a passing notice. The "Press" condemns and tries to ridicule your Calcutta article. He lauds the use of opium, as being as cheering to the countenance by a proper use, as a glass of wine. He then consistently wishes the opium trade with China might cease, because of the "*individual misery and crime*" it occasions, and then as consistently asserts that all its evils are overbalanced, by the general good it works on political economy! I have not time or tact, Mr. Editor, to enter the lists with the "Press" upon the effects of the cultivation and trade in opium upon British and Chinese industry; but I hope some able hand will trace these, and who can doubt that the investigation would prove most beneficent in bringing to light the pernicious effects upon industry, when poison instead of apparel or other good things is exchanged for tea and silks, and in silencing with shame those who pretend that Christian governments, ships, and sailors, need to be sustained by "*individual misery and crime*" in China, and dishonor the all-wise Creator by supposing that the advance of his creature's prosperity is dependant upon the most unhallowed interchanges.

Allow me, Mr. Editor, in conclusion to propose a premium for the best Essay on the opium trade, showing its effects on the commercial, political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, and pointing out the course they ought to pursue in regard to it. A friend authorizes me to place £ 100 at your disposal for this purpose. And I offer you an extract illustrative, in part, of what may be said upon this subject.

"The wealth of a nation consists of the wealth of all the individuals that compose it. The sources of the wealth are labor, land, and capital. The last is, indeed, the produce of the two former; but as it may be used to increase their value, it is considered by writers on political economy as one of the original sources of national wealth. Whatever lessens either of these, or their productiveness when employed upon each other, lessens the wealth of the country. Capital may be employed in two ways; either to produce new capital, or merely to afford gratification, and in the production of that gratification may be consumed, without replacing its value. The first may be called capital, and the last expenditure. These will of course bear inverse proportions to each other. If the first be large, the last must be small, and vice versa. Without any change of the amount of wealth, capital will be increased by the lessening of expenditure, and lessened by the increase of expenditure. Although the manner of dividing makes no difference with the present amount of national wealth, it makes a great difference with the future amount; as it alters materially the sources of producing it, the means of an equal, or increased reproduction.

"For instance, a man fond of noise and excited agreeably by the hearing of it, pays a dollar for gunpowder, and touches fire to it. He occasions an entire loss of that amount of property. Although the powder-maker and the merchant, may both have received their pay, if it has not benefited the man, to him it has been a total loss; and if the sale of it was no more profitable than would have been the sale of some useful article, it has been an entire loss to the community. And if by the explosion the man is burnt, partially loses his reason, is taken off for a time from business, and confined by sickness to his bed, must have nurses, physicians, &c., the loss is still increased. And if he never recovers fully his health, or reason, suffers in his social affections and moral sensibility, becomes less faithful in the education of his children, and they are more exposed to temptation and ruin, and he is never again as able or willing to be habitually employed in productive labor, the nation loses equal to the amount of all these put together. And if his example leads other men to spend, and to suffer in the same way, the loss is still further increased; and so on, through all its effects.

"And even though the powder-maker and the merchant have made enormous profit, this does not prevent the loss to the community; any more than the enormous profit of lottery gamblers, or counterfeiters of the public coin, prevents loss to the community. Nor does it meet the case, to say that the property only changes hands. This is not true. The man who sold the powder made a profit of only a part even of the money which the other man paid for it; while the buyer lost not only the whole, but vastly more. The whole of the original cost was only a small part of the loss to the buyer, and to the nation. The merchant gained nothing of the time, and other numerous expences, which the buyer lost; nor does he in any way remunerate the community for that loss.

"Suppose that man, instead of buying the powder, had bought a pair of shoes; and that the tanner and the shoemaker had gained in this case, what the powder-maker and the merchant gained in the other; and that by the use of the shoes, though they were finally worn out, the man gained twice as much as he gave for them; without any loss of health, or reason, social affec-

tion, or moral susceptibility; and without any of the consequent evils. Who cannot see that it would have increased his wealth, and that of the nation without injury to any, and have promoted the benefit of all.

"This illustrates the principle with regard to opium. A man buys a quantity of it, and smokes it; when he would be, as is the case with every man, in all respects better without it. It is to him an entire loss. The merchant may have made a profit of one quarter of the cost, but the buyer loses the whole; and he loses the time employed in obtaining and smoking it. He loses also, and the community loses, equal to all its deteriorating effects upon his body and mind, his children, and all who come under his influence. His labor becomes less productive. The capital of course produced by his labor is diminished; and thus the means are diminished of future reproduction. And by the increase of expenditure in proportion to the capital, it is still farther diminished, till to meet the increasingly disproportionate expences, the whole is often taken, and the means of future reproduction are entirely exhausted. And as there is no seed to sow, there is of course no future harvest. This is but a simple history of what is taking place in thousands of cases continually; and of what is the tendency of the traffic in opium, from beginning to end. It lessens the productiveness of labor, and of course diminishes the amount of capital; while in proportion, it increases the expenditure, and thus in both ways is constantly exhausting the means of future reproduction. And this is its tendency, in all its bearings, in proportion to the quantity used. It is a palpable and gross violation of all correct principles of political economy; and from beginning to end, tends to diminish all the sources of national wealth."

In making the foregoing extracts I have only substituted opium for "ardent spirits." And if any advocates of man's best interests, either here, or in Europe, India or America (whether induced by your premium or not,) will follow opium from its forced production to place *revenue* in the pockets of the privileged few, to its consumption to debase the Christian name in China, and impoverish and enervate its people, who thus will fail to be what otherwise they might become, the most powerful sustainers of British industry and skill the world can offer, if any of these advocates will thus trace the origin and progress of opium and show its demoralizing and industry-destroying course in its true bearings, so that all may see and shun it, they will be rendering a service redundant with equal blessings to humanity with those which have followed the labors of philanthropists to eradicate slavery from the world. Through them, the slave-trade has become an abomination, and slavery will be so. May they pursue their untiring efforts, until as heavy a condemnation attends the pernicious distribution of opium.

I have extended my remarks, Mr. Editor, much beyond what I contemplated, and will close them, but without apology for their extension; for, when it is considered that the cause of my animadversions is as a wall of adamant between Christianity and 400 millions of mankind; and the destroyer of those marts of merchandise, without which western operatives may fail to be fed, how can we be silent! Let the friends of humanity and human industry look to it. Especially let England, who has washed her hands of slavery in the West, awaken to her other duty in the East, and give to a subject demanding her power and benevolence, her best specimens of the spirit of Wilberforce.

Yours, &c., V. P. M.

ART. VII. *Report in reference to the Circulation of dollars in China ; necessity of retaining them in the provinces ; their weight and standard objectionable ; precautions against the exportation of sycee silver.* August, 1836.

REPORT, made by the commissioners of finance and of justice in the province Kwangtung, to the heads of the provincial government, requesting that their excellencies, when replying to his majesty, will recommend that the use of foreign money be still sanctioned, as being suitable to the position of foreign affairs here : but that all exchanges for, or clandestine exportations of, sycee silver be disallowed.

Foreign money is brought from the lands of the distant barbarians ; and is essentially necessary to the mercantile classes trading in all the provinces along the coast, who, for their daily supplies of food and other necessities, are dependent on the facility of exchanging this money, and on its general circulation. It is not, therefore, to be dispensed with for a single moment. Its circulation, however, is confined to the provinces Keangnan, Chékéing, Fuhkeén, and Kwangtung, or, if it do occasionally extend, in the course of trade, to adjoining districts (for this is a circumstance not wholly to be avoided), yet it cannot circulate much farther inland than a few hundred miles. As to the provinces lying northwards, the two provinces of 'the Lakes' (Hoonan and Hoopih), Szechuen, Yunnan, and Kweichow, this money does not at present circulate in any of them : and if perchance a few specimens reach those places, they are prized merely as curiosities ; or, if it be attempted to force them on the market, they can be exchanged only at a discount, and even then with difficulty. How can it be supposed, therefore, that this money will immediately spread itself into universal circulation ?

Having taken this general view of the subject, we will turn to the representation made by the censor Shin Yung. In this representation, he expresses his apprehension that the low standard of foreign money must render it difficult to be exchanged for sycee silver at a fair and regular rate ; and on that account, he requests that the inhibition of the money may be made a subject of consideration. This recommendation is doubtless the result of anxious attention to the policy of government, and serious regard for the interests of the people. But arguments are not wanting in favor of the circulation of money, so far as regards the eastern and southern provinces.

The places where foreign ships anchor are also the places where foreign money is scattered abroad. The supplies of provisions furnished to them comprise minute and multifarious details ; their expences include numerous items of a very varied character ; and many small sums are paid by them, as the hire of labor, or the price of articles. Not a day passes without money being used for one or other of these purposes. It becomes, then, a matter, of necessity

that they should bring foreign money with them, to meet these various expences; and hence it happens that the market prices are regulated by dollars, it being found highly convenient to value goods by them. The people among themselves, also, gladly fall in with such an arrangement, finding it to be advantageous. From which it is clear that *the inhabitants of the coast* cannot well be deprived of the foreign money.

Again, native merchants, trading by sea along the coast, when they travel, carry their money with them. If these have to carry the governmental [copper] coin, the expense of so doing will be a heavy tax upon their small transactions; and if they carry gold or silver to sea with them, they have reason to fear lest they be found guilty of contravening the prohibitions of government. It is therefore impossible for them to do otherwise than carry foreign money with them, it being necessary that they should have such money in order to make purchases. And hence it is evident that the *native mercantile classes* along the coast cannot dispense with the use of foreign money.

Further, as to the foreigners, they import foreign money into Canton as a medium in which to pay the prices of commodities purchased by them. The amount of such importations is variable and uncertain; and whatever balance they may have remaining is either employed, on perceiving an advantageous state of the market, in making additional purchases, or is spent in a more abundant and luxurious supply of the daily necessities of life. For in the love of much money, and of good prices, the flowery people and barbarians are altogether like-minded. We see, then, lastly that the *foreign merchants* of other countries are likewise unable to dispense with the use of foreign money.

We are informed that there are silver mines in England, and America, and Spain. Although the pattern after which the money of each country is made differs, yet the degree of purity is nearly the same with all, being above ninety per cent. touch, as compared with the sycee silver of China. We see, then, that though they be left to follow their own methods, yet the foreigners do not draw their materials from this country. And in commercial intercourse, so long as each holds its due place, the foreign money is the same as though it were issued from the mint of the palace itself.—Our empire is separated from the foreigners by ten thousand miles of sea, over which they cross to present things of value and to offer tribute: and for their doing this, established regulations exist. Since, then, to present themselves here, and to make offerings has been so long their practice, that time has rendered it equal to an ancient rule that they should do so,—what cause can there be for apprehension of any consequences that may arise from permitting them to bring such things as will be most advantageous and profitable to them? It is most truly said in his sacred majesty's edict, that the circulation of the foreign money in the east and south is not a thing merely of yesterday. The right mode of acting is, to establish *rules* and *limits*, so as to bring upon the same level the wishes both of our own people and of those from

afar. But were the foreign money permitted to be circulated even in all the provinces, it would not be productive of the slightest injury to China.

The great objection to the use of foreign money is this, that with it no regard is paid to the weight of metal, or the degree of purity. In Canton this was formerly the case, also. But at a later period, as a precaution against fraud, foreign money began to be stamped and chopped, to mark the degree of purity,—and to be weighed, in order to ascertain the quantity of metal. The money so stamped is in general circulation in the markets, where it goes by the name of ‘broken pieces;’ and when it is exchanged for sycee silver, about 3 or 4 taels per cent. are added to make amends for the inferiority in touch. But in Keängnan and Chêkeäng no money is in circulation but such as is bright with a new smooth face. At present the ‘broken pieces’ of Canton, when paid in exchange for new-faced money, pay a premium of no less than 6 or 7 taels per cent. And crafty dealers, having many clever devices for obtaining gain, raise the price still higher, whenever the supply of this new-faced money is insufficient.—Of the manner in which the money circulates in Keängnan and Chêkeäng, at the present time, we are ignorant.

Should the imperial pleasure be declared in favor of the circulation of foreign money, it ought to be required, in all the provinces, that the money be paid by weight, and that prices be no longer rated by the *number* of dollars; that foreign money, when exchanged for sycee silver, whether such money be in broken pieces, or in whole bright-faced coin, shall always pay a premium per cent. to make up the difference of purity between it and sycee silver; and that foreign money shall never be allowed, on the contrary, to bear a premium, when given in exchange for sycee silver. With regard to native counterfeits and adulterated pieces of money, the shroffs in the market-places are so expert in discovering and picking out such, that it is quite unnecessary to think for the people on this point, or to make any rules or restrictions with reference to it.

The purity and weight of the silver being in this manner rendered subject to trial, the crafty deceitful character of the foreigners will have no room for exercising itself in petty arts. But the importance of the custom-house restrictions is such as to call, in a still greater degree, for prohibitions,—prohibitions, namely, of the exportation of sycee silver. It is our duty to request, that, in all future commercial dealings with foreign merchants, no persons be permitted to mix up sycee silver in the payment of any balances due to such foreign merchants, or to sell any sycee silver to them for their every-day use; that voluntary engagements to this effect be filed by all the hong merchants, both the senior merchants and the others; that, if any of these infringe this regulation, they be rendered liable to severe punishment by fine or transportation; and that if any shopkeeper, or any other of the people, transgress it, such transgressor be made liable to a punishment one degree more severe. The officers and men in charge of custom-houses and passes, as well as those in command of naval vessels at

sea, should be required to keep guard in constant succession, the latter always cruising about. When the foreign ships are returning from hence, officers and men should be bound to search faithfully; and in case of their discovering and making seizure of any sycee silver, and sending the offenders to meet their trial, they should be rewarded by a gift of all the silver so seized. Should any dare to protect and wilfully connive at any transgression of the law, and should such connivance be discovered by the transgressor being elsewhere apprehended, inquiry ought to be made as to the places through which the transgressor had passed, and the officers and men at those places ought to be dealt with most severely. If regulations be made of this clear and determined nature, all will then be convinced that the purpose is to uphold them.

The luxuriance and splendor of this central nation are such, that its own native treasures are exhaustless, and it values not things of foreign and distant extraction. The wondrous arts of the outermost barbarians it reckons as nothing and of no worth. These arts can therefore be productive of no detriment to the policy of the government, while to the people they appear not unattended by some advantage. It is our duty, therefore, to request, that your excellencies will implore his majesty, of his heavenly favor, to sanction the continuance of foreign money in circulation in the sea-board provinces, its circulation being suitable to the position of foreign affairs, and convenient for the people. As in duty bound, we have consulted together, and lay before your excellencies the result, awaiting your decision as to the correctness or incorrectness thereof, preparatory to a full memorial to the emperor.

ART. VIII. *British relations with China: H. B. Majesty's Commission; and a memorial from the governor of Canton to the emperor, requesting permission for captain Charles Elliot to come to the provincial city.*

SINCE September 1834, no British authorities have resided at Canton. Having withdrawn from the provincial city to Macao, they there awaited the commands of the home government, as to the mode in which their future conduct should be regulated—whether any further efforts should be made by them to obtain a residence in Canton, or whether they should remain at some station outside the port. In the mean time, some changes have taken place in the commission; and at length, the long expected commands have been received. We are ignorant of the nature of those commands; but of the changes and steps consequent thereon, we will briefly give the details. In the middle of the last month it was reported in Canton that dispatches

had been received from the "Foreign Office," and shortly afterwards appeared in the Register and Press of Canton, addressed "To His Britannic Majesty's Subjects in China," the following

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

"Dispatches have been received from the right honorable the secretary of state for foreign affairs, signifying the abolition of the office and salary of the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China. His majesty's government has been pleased to appoint captain Charles Elliot R. N. to perform the duties of chief of the commission, from this date.

"By order of the superintendents of the trade of British subjects in China.

EDWARD ELSMLIE,
Secretary & treasurer."

"Macao, December 14th, 1836.

In consequence of these dispatches, sir George B. Robinson bart. retired from the office of chief superintendent, and returns soon to England. Captain Elliot (Mr. Astell having retired in the summer of 1835) assumes the office of chief superintendent, on the same salary that he before received as second; and A. R. Johnston, esquire, as second superintendent, continues to receive the salary he had as third,—the number of superintendents being now reduced to two. The other appointments continue as before, viz. Edward Elmslie, esquire, secretary and treasurer; J. R. Morrison, esquire, Chinese secretary and interpreter; Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, joint interpreter; Rev. G. H. Vachell, M. A. chaplain; T. R. Colledge, esquire, surgeon; A. Anderson, esquire, assistant surgeon.

Shortly after the nature of these changes had transpired, it was known here, that, in consequence of an address from captain Elliot, transmitted through the hands of the hong merchants, an officer had been sent by governor Táng to Macao, accompanied by the senior hong merchants. Something of the character and immediate results of the correspondence thus commenced will be seen in the following supplementary memorial from the governor to the emperor. It is without date, but was probably forwarded about the 20th instant.

* * * * *

"Since it was first permitted to the various nations of barbarians without the pale of the empire to have commercial intercourse with Canton, the English trade has always been the greatest. Heretofore the direction of that nation's trade was in the hands of a Company, by which were appointed chief, second, third, and fourth supercargoes to reside in Canton. All the foreign vessels of the Company successively reached China during the 7th and 8th months of each year; and, having exchanged their commodities, left the port in the course of the 12th month, and of the 1st and 2d months of the following year. Having all left, the supercargoes forthwith requested passports to proceed to Macao, and resided there, until the return of foreign vessels in the 7th and 8th months, when they again requested passports to come to Canton, to transact their affairs. This is the way in which, for a long time past, these affairs were regulated. At a later period, the Company having been dissolved, no chief supercargo was sent,

and another person was directed to take the control of affairs.* Your majesty's minister Loo, the then governor, having represented this, received your majesty's commands 'immediately to direct the hong merchants, to desire the said private merchants to send a letter home to their country, calling for the renewed appointment of a chief supercargo, who should come to Canton, to direct commercial affairs, and thus should conform to the old enactments. Respect this.' In respectful obedience, hereto, direction were given as is on record.

"Now, in the 11th month of the present year, I your majesty's minister, have received from an English foreigner, Elliot, an address forwarded from Macao, to this effect: 'I have received dispatches from my government, specially appointing me to come to Canton for the general control of the merchants and seamen of my nation. Under present circumstances, there being very many ships in the port, and the merchants and seamen at Canton and Whampoa being very numerous, and many of them little acquainted with the laws of the celestial empire, I am apprehensive lest any difficulties should arise, and request permission, therefore, to proceed to Canton for the direction of affairs.' Observing that this foreigner, in his address, calls himself 'an officer from afar,' which appears to be the designation of a barbarian head-man, and not that of a chief supercargo, also that he does not plainly state, in his address, what rank he now holds from his own nation, whether the purpose of his coming is simply to apply himself to the control of the merchants and seamen, or if he is also to transact commercial business, and whether he has credentials from his government or not:—I immediately sent a deputy to Macao, whom I directed to proceed thither with speed, to take with him hong merchants, and, in conjunction with the local civil and military officers, to ascertain fully the truth on all these points. This having been done, the deputy and the others reported to me in the following terms: 'In obedience to the orders we received, we took with us the hong merchants, and questioned the foreigner Elliot on each point distinctly. His information was, that he, Elliot was an English officer of the fourth grade; that in the autumn of the 14th year of Taoukwang he came to China in a cruiser, as was at the time reported by the pilots; that he had remained two years in Macao, his business being to sign the papers of English merchant vessels; that now, the Company not having been reestablished, and there being no chief supercargo, he had received his king's commands, through a letter from a great minister of the first rank, informing him that he is appointed to control the merchants and seamen,—not to control commerce; that he has credentials, commanding him to hold the direction of affairs at Canton; and that, in case of any disturbance, he alone is answerable. We also learned that the foreigner Elliot has

* There seems to be an error here; it should probably read "there was no person to take the control of affairs." In one or two other places we suspect there may be errors. The document is an unofficial one, and was kindly sent to us through a private channel. The officers had no interview with capt. Elliot, though in reporting that they "questioned" him they seem to say so.

brought with him a wife, a child, and a retinue of four persons. On inquiry we found, that the foreign barbarians at Macao, and the foreign merchants of his nation, all represented Elliot as a very quiet and peaceable man, and as having no ulterior object to effect.'

"This report having come before me, I find that since the dissolution of the English Company a chief supercargo has not come hither; that of late the ships' papers of foreign merchants returning home have been signed by this foreigner, who has resided at Macao for that purpose, and is represented to have quietly attended to his duty; and that at this present time ships are constantly and uninterruptedly arriving, and the merchants and seamen are indeed very numerous: it would be well promptly to relax the unimportant restraints, in order to preserve peace and quiet. Now this foreigner has received credentials from his country, appointing him to the general control of merchants and seamen: though he is not precisely the same as the chief supercargo hitherto appointed, yet the difference is but in name not in reality. And after all, he is a foreigner to hold the reins of foreigners, and if not allowed to interfere in aught else, it would seem that an alteration may be allowed; and that he may be permitted to come to Canton and direct affairs, according to the same regulations under which the chief supercargoes have hitherto acted. I have for the present commanded the said foreigner to remain temporarily at Macao, waiting until I shall have announced the facts to your majesty. If your majesty's gracious assent be granted, I will then write to the superintendent of maritime customs to issue a passport for his admission to Canton. Thereafter he shall be required to change his residence from Canton to Macao, and back again, according to the season, just as under the former regulations; and he shall not be allowed to overpass the time and linger about at the capital, so as gradually to effect a settlement here. Besides, I will command the local, civil and military officers, and the hong merchants, from time to time truly to watch and examine his conduct; and if he exceeds his duty and acts foolishly, or forms connection with traitorous Chinese, with a view to twist the laws to serve private interests, he shall be immediately driven forth, and sent back to his country; and thus the source of all illegalities will be closed up.

"It is my duty to lay this before your majesty, that the correctness or incorrectness of my views may be determined; and for this purpose I subjoin to my memorial these remarks, prostrate imploring your sacred majesty to grant me instruction. A respectful memorial."

A reply to this memorial may be expected in Canton during the month of March. In the mean time, two members of the commission, the Chinese secretary and interpreter and the assistant surgeon, will reside here, having already arrived at the provincial city.

ART. IX. *Foreign Residents in China: alphabetical list of persons; list of commercial houses and agents; to which are added a list of the Portuguese authorities in Macao, the names of foreign consuls, and of the hong merchants and linguists.*

THE situation and extent of the foreign factories have been described in a former part of our work. (Vol. ii, p. 303.) It has been stated, also, that the residents are not allowed to bring their families with them to the provincial city. In the following list, therefore, it will be understood that the families which are named are at Macao, and that the merchants, agents, &c., are resident either there or in Canton, according to circumstances, and their pleasure. The old regulations of the port required all foreigners to leave Canton in the spring, and allowed them to return in the last part of the summer or in autumn. These regulations, however, have gone into disuse; and some of the residents now continue here during the whole year, while others pass to and from Macao several times in the course of the same period; European sail-boats, for the accommodation of passengers, running almost daily between the two places. Foreigners have established here within a few years several insurance offices; a chamber of commerce; three or four benevolent institutions; and three printing presses. They have also two chapels, one here and one in Macao, in which there is public worship every Sabbath day.

Note. In this list, *ind* is put for Indian; *por* for Portuguese; *br* for British; *am* for American; *par* for Parsee; *sw* for Swiss; *dan* for Danish; *fr* for French; *pru* for Prussian; *du* for Dutch; *ger* for German. N. B. The list is intended to include the names of every foreigner in this part of China, excepting only those Portuguese who reside permanently in Macao.

Names of the foreign residents.

Abbeedin Abdoolaliff,	<i>ind</i>	Blenkin, William	<i>br</i>
Abdoolcurim Budroodeen,	<i>ind</i>	Bomanjee Hosunjee,	<i>par</i>
Aguiar, J. C. de	<i>por</i>	Bomanjee Maneckjee,	<i>par</i>
Allen, R.	<i>br</i>	Bomanjee Jemsetjee,	<i>par</i>
Allport, T., & family,	<i>br</i>	Bovet, C., & family,	<i>sw</i>
Anderson, A.	<i>br</i>	Bovet, Louis	<i>sw</i>
Aquino, M. Joze de	<i>por</i>	Boyd, A. P., & family,	<i>br</i>
Archer, Joseph	<i>am</i>	Boyd, William Sprott	<i>br</i>
Ardaseer Furdoonjee,	<i>par</i>	Brame, G. T.	<i>br</i> absent
Astell, John Harvey	<i>br</i>	Bramston, William	<i>br</i>
Azevedo, F. H. B. de	<i>por</i>	Bridgman, Rev. E. C.	<i>am</i>
Azevedo, Luiz M. de	<i>por</i>	Bull, Isaac M.	<i>am</i>
		Burjorjee Framjee,	<i>par</i>
Ballantyne, —	<i>br</i>	Burjorjee Maneckjee,	<i>par</i>
Barradas, D. J.	<i>por</i>	Burjorjee Sorabjee,	<i>par</i>
Barretto, B. A.	<i>por</i>	Burnett, James	<i>br</i> <i>Lintin</i>
Baylis, H. P.	<i>br</i>		
Beale, Thomas	<i>br</i>	Calder, Alexander	<i>br</i>
Beale, Thomas C.	<i>br</i>	Caldwell, D. R.	"
Bell, William	<i>br</i>	Cany, Edward	<i>am</i>

Chinnery, George	br		Fletcher, A.	br	
Clarke, H. Matthew	"		Forbes, D.	"	Lintin
Clarke, W.	"	Lintin	Forbes, J. M.	am	absent
Colledge, T. R., & family,	"		Forest, A.	br	Lintin
Compton, J. B.	"		Foster, Wm. Henry	"	
Constable, Henry	"		Fox, Thomas	"	
Cook, Nathaniel	"		Framjee Dadabhoy,	par	
Coolidge, Joseph, jun.	am		Framjee Eduljee,	"	
Couper, William	"		Framjee Jemsetjee,	"	
Cooverjee Jewajee,	par		Framjee Heerajec,	"	
Cowasjee Bajunjee,	par				
Cowasjee Eduljee,	par		Gallie, J.	br	Lintin
Cowasjee Sapoorjee,	par		Gemmell, T.	"	
Cox, Richard Henry	br		Gernaert, B.	fr	absent
Cragg, Joseph	"		Gess, G.	br	
Cragg, William	"		Gibb, T. A.	"	
Crawford, A. H.	"		Gilman, D.	am	Lintin
Crockett, J., & family,	"	Lintin	Gilman, J. T.	am	
Cursetjee Bomanjee,	par		Gilman, R. J.	br	
Cursetjee Nasserwanjee,	par		Gonzaga, Guilherme	por	
Cursetjee Sapoorjee,	par		Gordon, O. H., & family,	am	
			Gray, W. F.	br	
Dadabhoy Burjorjee,	par		Green, John C.	am	
Dadabhoy Hormusjee,	par	absent	Greig, Alexander	br	Lintin
Dadabhoy Rustomjee,	par		Gutierrez, Gregorio	por	Lintin
Dalrymple, Stair	br		Gutzlaff, Rev. C., & fam.,	pru	
Daniell, A. S., & family,	"				
Davidson, F. M.	"	absent	Hadley, E.	br	Lintin
Davis, J. J.	"	Lintin	Hall, J.	br	Lintin
Delano, Warren, jun.	am		Hamilton, James	br	absent
Denham, F.	br	Lintin	Hamilton, Louis, & fam.	am	
Dincar Dorabjee,	par		Harton, W. H.	br	
Dent, Lancelot	br		Hathaway, F. S.	am	
Dent, Wilkinson	"		Haylett, William	br	
Dhunjeebhoy Byramjee Ranna,	par		Heerjee Jehangier,	par	
Dhunjeebhoy Nasserwanjee,	"		Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee,	par	
Dhunjeebhoy Nasserwanjee Cama,	"		Henderson, William	br	
Dhunjeebhoy Muncherjee	"		Henry, Joseph	br	
Dickson, I. A.	br		Hillar, Henry	br	Lintin
Dickson, James	"		Holgate, H. (hospital, Whampoa)	br	
Dossabhoy Rustomjee,	par		Holliday, John	br	
Dodd, W.	br	Lintin	Hopkins, —	br	Lintin
Douglas, R.	"		Hormusjee-Jamasjee	par	
Drummond, F. C.	"		Hormusjee Jamoojee	par	
Duus, N., & family,	dan		How, James	br	
			Hubbell, Alexander	am	
Eduljee Furdoonjee,	par		Hudson, J.	br	Lintin
Edwards, Robert, & family,	br		Hunter, R. H.	br	
Elgar, Henry	"		Hunter, Thomas	br	
Elliot, capt. C., R. N., & family,	"		Hunter, W. C.	am	
Elmslie, Edward	"		Hurjevun Amtha	ind	
Etting, B.	am				
Everard, John	br		Ilbery, James	br	
Fearon, C., & family,	"		Ilbery, J. W. H., & family,	br	
Fearon, Charles	"		Inglis, Robert	br	
Fearon, Samuel	"		Innes, James	br	

Jalbhoj Cursetjee,	<i>par</i>	absent	Moller, Edmund	<i>ger</i>	
James, John	<i>br</i>		Morrison, John Robert	<i>br</i>	
Jamieson, George	<i>br</i>	absent	Morss, William H.	<i>am</i>	
Jamoojee Nasserwanjee,	<i>par</i>		Muncherjee Jemsetjee,	<i>par</i>	
Jardine, William	<i>br</i>		Muncherjee Sapoorjee,	"	
Jardine, A.	<i>br</i>	absent	Nanabhoy Framjee,	"	
Jauncey, F.	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>	Nasserwanjee Ardaseer,	"	
Jemsetjee Cursetjee	<i>par</i>		Nasserwanjee Dorabjee,	"	
Jemsetjee Eduljee,	<i>par</i>		Nasserwanjee Bomanjee	"	
Jemsetjee Hornusjee	<i>par</i>		Nasserwanjee Bickajee	"	
Jemsetjee Nourojee	<i>par</i>		Naylor, J. E.	<i>br</i>	
Jones, Thomas	<i>br</i>		Nicol, G. G.	"	
Johnston, A. R.	<i>br</i>		Noronha, Damiaõ de	<i>por</i>	
Just, Leonard, jun.	<i>br</i>		Nowrojee Cawasjee,	<i>par</i>	
			Nowrojee Byramjee,	"	
Keating, Arthur S.	<i>br</i>		Olyphant, D. W. C.	<i>am</i>	
Keet, James D.	<i>br</i>		Olyphant, David	"	
Kellogg, H. Partridge	<i>am</i>		Pallunjee Dorabjee,	<i>par</i>	
Kerr, Crawford	<i>br</i>		Pallunjee Dorabjee,	<i>par</i>	
King, C. W., & family,	<i>am</i>		Pallunjee Nasserwanjee,	<i>par</i>	
King, Edward	<i>am</i>		Parker, Rev. Pcter, M. D.	<i>am</i>	
King, Frederic A.	<i>am</i>		Parry, Edward	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Kinslay, William T.	<i>br</i>		Pattullo, —	"	
			Pereira, Eduardo	<i>por</i>	
Lane, William	<i>br</i>		Pereira, Francisco	<i>por</i>	
Layton, T. H.	<i>br</i>		Pereira, Lauriano H.	<i>por</i>	
Le Geyt, I. C.	<i>br</i>		Pereira, Manoel	<i>por</i>	
Lejee, W. R.	<i>am</i>		Perrier, F. A.	<i>am</i>	
Lcslic, W.	<i>br</i>	absent	Pestonjee Dinshaw,	<i>par</i>	
Limjee Bomanjee,	<i>par</i>		Pestonjee Nourojee,	<i>par</i>	
Lindsay, H. Hamilton	<i>br</i>		Pestonjee Sapoorjee,	<i>par</i>	
Lisk, R.	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>	Peters, John	<i>br</i>	
Livingston, W. P.	<i>br</i>		Philip, —	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Low, Abiel A.	<i>am</i>		Pike, J.	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Lyon, W.	<i>br</i>		Pitman, T. G.	<i>am</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
			Porteous, W.	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Macculloch, A.	"		Rangel, F. A., jun.	<i>por</i>	
Macdonald, William	"		Rawson, Christopher	<i>br</i>	
Maclean, A. C., & fam.,	"		Rees, John	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Macondray, F. W.	<i>am</i>	<i>Lintin</i>	Rees, Thomas	<i>br</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Macjuzie, D.	"		Reeves, John R.	<i>br</i>	
Maneckjee Rustomjee,	<i>par</i>	absent	Remedios, João J. dos	<i>por</i>	<i>Lintin</i>
Marim, Antonio Joze	<i>por</i>		Rickett, J., & family,	<i>br</i>	
Marks, J. R., & family,	<i>br</i>		Ritchie, W. L.	<i>am</i>	
Markwick, Charles	"		Robertson, Alexander	<i>br</i>	
Matheson, James	"		Robertson, Patrick F.	"	
Matheson, A.alexander	"	absent	Robertson, Roderick	"	
Mendes, J. S., & family,	"		Robinson, sir George B., & family	<i>br</i>	
Merwanjee Tamooljee,	<i>par</i>		Rozario, T. A. do	<i>por</i>	
Middleton, John	<i>br</i>		Rustomjee Framjee,	<i>par</i>	
Middleton, J. H.	"				
Millar, J.	"		Sacksen, C. F.	<i>pru</i>	
Miller, D.	"				
Mills, George	"				
Miranda, Antonio J. de	<i>por</i>				
Miranda, Agostinho de	"				

Sampson, George R.	am		Sturgis, R., & family,	am	absent
Schwabe, G. C.	ger		Sundorff, G. P. B.	du	
Scott, William	br		Talbot, W. R.	am	
Shariarjee Rustomjee,	par		Tamooljee Rustomjee,	par	
Sheemsoodeen Abdoollatub,	ind		Thorn, R.	br	
Silva, J. Peres da	por		Thomson, W.	br	
Slade, John	br		Tiedeman, P.	du	
Smith, Alexander J.	"		Townshend, Edward	br	
Smith, George B.	"		Turner, Richard	"	
Smith, John	"		Vachell, Rev. G. H., & fam.	br	
Smith, J. A.	"		Van Basel, M. J. S., & fam.	du	
Smith, J. W.	"		Vandenberg, Mathcus	por	
Snow, P. W.	am		Vandenberg, Antonio F.	por	
Sorabjee Rustomjee,	par	absent	Van Loffelt, J. P.	"	
Sorabjee Cursetjee	par		Varnham, Warner	br	
Souza, Camillo L.	por	Lintin	Vieira, Bartholomeo A.	por	
Souza, M. Joze de	por		Wallace, William	br	
Stace, J. F.	br	Lintin	Webster, R.	br	
Stanford, F., & family,	"		Wetmore, William S.	am	
Starkey, James	"		Wetmore, Samuel, jun.	am	
Steyn, Gabriel Joze	por		Wheler, —	br	Lintin
Stevens, Rev. Edwin	am		Wilkinson, Robert	br	absent
Stewart, P., & family	br		Wilkinson, A.	br	
Stewart, William	"		Williams, S. Wells	am	
Stewart, J. C.	"	absent	Wookerjee Jemsetjee,	par	
Strachan, W.	"	Lintin	Wright, Harry	br	Lintin
Sturgis, George	am		Wright, Henry	br	
Sturgis, John	am		Xavier, J. J. dos Anjos	por	
Sturgis, J. P.	am				
Sturgis, S. P.	am				

Commercial Houses, Agents, &c.

ARDASEER FURDOONJEE.	No. 2	Fungtae hong.
BELL & Co. Wm. Bell.	No. 6	British hong. <i>Partners.</i> William Bell, G. S. de H. Larpent, & Joseph McGregor.
BOMANJEE JEMSETJEE.	No. 3	French hong.
BOMANJEE MANECKJEE.	No. 1	Paoushun hong.
BOVET, CHARLES	No. 3	Dutch hong. Watchmaker.
BULL, ISAAC M.	No. 4	French hong.
BURJORJEE MANECKJEE.	No. 2	French hong.
COMPANY'S (F. I.) Finance Committee.	<i>Agents.</i>	John H. Astell, Henry M. Clarke.
COX, RICHARD H.	No. 1	Danish hong. Canton Dispensary.
CRAGG, (JOSEPH and WILLIAM) & Co.	No. 9	French hong. <i>Partners.</i> Joseph Cragg and Wm. Cragg.
CURSETJEE, HEERJEE and NOWROJEE.	No. 4	Danish hong. <i>Partners.</i> Heerjee Jehangier, and Nowrojee Cursetjee.
DIUNJEEBHOOY BYRAMJEE RANA.	No. 5	Fungtae hong.
DADABHOOY and MANECKJEE RUSTOMJEE.	No. 1	Fungtae hong.
DANIELL & Co.	British hong.	<i>Partners.</i> James F. N. Daniell, A. S. Daniell, Wilkinson Dent.

- DENT & Co. No. 6 Paoushun hong. *Partners.* Lancelot Dent, Robert Inglis, R. Wilkinson, G. T. Braine, and J. R. Reeves.
- DHUNJEEBHOY MUNCHERJEE. No. 5 Paoushun hong.
- DIROM & Co. No. 6 Dutch hong. *Partners.* F. M. Davidson, William F. Gray, and James Starkey.
- DOUGLAS, BROTHERS, & Co. No. 6 Danish hong.
- EDWARDS, ROBERT, No. 3 Imperial hong.
- EGLINTON, MACLEAN & Co. No. 7 Danish hong. A. C. Maclean.
- FOX, RAWSON & Co. No. 2 Dutch hong. *Partners.* Thomas Fox, William Blenkin, Thomas Samuel Rawson, and James Strachan.
- FRAMJEE JEMSETJEE. No. 6 French hong.
- GEMMELL, (WILLIAM AND THOMAS,) & Co. No. 3 Danish hong. William Gemmel, Thomas Gemmell.
- GERNAERT, B. French Consul. No. 7 French hong.
- GIBB, LIVINGSTON, & Co. No. 6 British hong. *Partners.* T. A. Gibb, and William Potter Livingston.
- GORDON and TALBOT. No. 3 American hong. O. H. Gordon and W. R. Talbot.
- HAMILTON, JAMES. No. 1 Creek hong.
- HAMILTON, L., Shipwright. *Macao.*
- HATHAWAY, F. S. No. 4 Lungshun hong.
- HENDERSON, WILLIAM. No. 2 Danish hong.
- ILBERY & Co. No. 6. Lungshun hong. *Partners.* James Ilbery, and J. W. H. Ilbery.
- INNES, JAMES. No. 1 Creek hong.
- JAMIESON and How. No. 5 Lungshun hong. *Partners.* George Jamieson, and James How.
- JARDINE, MATHESON & Co. No. 4 Creek hong. *Partners.* Wm. Jardine, James Matheson, Henry Wright, and A. Matheson.
- JUMMOOJEE NASSERWANJEE. No. 5 Dutch hong.
- JUST & SON. No. 1 French hong. Watch and Chronometer Makers. Leonard Just, jun.
- KEATING, ARTHUR SAUNDERS. No. 2 Creek hong.
- LAYTON, T. H. No. 4 British hong.
- LINDSAY & Co. British hong. *Partners.* H. H. Lindsay and William Wallace.
- MARKWICK, CHARLES. No. 6 Imperial hong. British Hotel.
- MIDDLETON & Co. No. 3 Creek hong. Agents for Lloyds. John Middleton.
- MOLLER, EDMUND. No. 3 British hong.
- NANABHOY FRAMJEE. No. 7 French hong.
- NICOL, GEORGE GARDEN. No. 5 Danish hong.
- OLYPHANT & Co. No. 1 American hong. *Partners.* D. W. C. Olyphant, C. N. Talbot, C. W. King.
- PEREIRA & Co. No. 3 Dutch hong. *Partners.* Manoel Pereira, Francisco Joze de Paiva, and John Stephen Mendes.
- RUSSELL & Co. No. 2 Swedish hong. *Partners.* John C. Green, John M. Forbes, and Joseph Coolidge, junior.

- RUSSELL, STURGIS & Co. No. 4. Swedish hong. *Partners.* J. W. Perit, George R. Russell, R. Sturgis, Henry P. Sturgis, and Warren Delano, junior.
- SCOTT, WILLIAM, Secretary to the Canton General Chamber of Commerce. No. 2 Danish hong.
- SLADE, JOHN. No. 3 Danish hong.
- SNOW, P. W., American Consul. No. 1 Swedish hong.
- STANFORD & MARKS. No. 2 British hong. British hotel. F. Stanford and J. R. Marks.
- STURGIS, J. P. No. 1 Swedish hong.
- TURNER & Co. Spanish hong. *Partners.* Richard Turner, Alexander Pearson Boyd, Patrick F. Robertson, and William Thomson.
- VAN BASEL, TOE LAER & Co. No. 1 Dutch hong. *Partners.* M. J. Senn Van Basel and G. M. toe Laer.
- WETMORE & Co. No. 1 Imperial hong. W. S. Wetmore, Joseph Archer, and Samuel Wetmore, jun.
- WISE (ROBERT), HOLLIDAY & Co. No. 5 Danish hong. J. Holliday.

Government of Macao.

- H. E. BERNARDO JOZE DE SOUZA SOARES DE ANDREA; *governor.*
- Bacharel FRANCISCO JOSE DA COSTA E AMARAL, *chief justice.*
- D. FRANCISCO XAVIER DE CASTRO, *commanding officer of the troops.*
- The most Rev. P. CANDIDO GONÇALVES FRANCO; *vigario capitular.*
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Sr. FRANCISCO ANTONIO SEABRA, | <i>president.</i> | } <i>Members of the
Municipal Chamber.</i> |
| (vacant) | <i>provedor.</i> | |
| Sr. JOÃO RODRIGUES GONÇALVES, | } <i>vereado-
res.</i> | |
| Sr. CIPRIANO ANTONIO PACHECO, | | |
| (vacant) | | |
- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Sr. F. A. RANGEL, de Se e Sto. ANTONIO. (acting) | } <i>Juizes de Paz.</i> |
| Sr. A. VICENTE CORTELLA, de S. LOURENÇO. | |

His Britannic Majesty's Commission.

- Captain CHARLES ELLIOT, R. N., *chief superintendent.*
- ALEXANDER ROBERT JOHNSTON, esq., *second superintendent.*
- EDWARD ELMSLIE, *secretary and treasurer.*
- Rev. GEORGE HARVEY VACHELL, A. M., *chaplain.*
- JOHN ROBERT MORRISON, esq., *Chinese secretary & interpreter.*
- Rev. CHARLES GUTZLAFF, *joint interpreter.*
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| THOMAS RICHARDSON COLLEDGE, esq. | } <i>surgeons.</i> |
| ALEXANDER ANDERSON, esq. | |

Foreign Consuls.

- BENOIT GERNAERT, esquire, *French.*
- M. J. SENN VAN BASEL, esquire, *Dutch.*
- P. W. SNOW, esquire, *American.*
- JAMES MATHESON, esquire, *Danish.*
- ALEXANDER MATHESON, esquire, *Hamburg (acting).*

Hong Merchants.

<i>Original Names.</i>	<i>Mercentile Names.</i>	<i>Official Names.</i>
Howqua,—Woo haou kwan,	Ewo hong,	Woo Shaouyung.
Mowqua,—Loo inow kwan,	Kwonglei hong,	Loo Kekwang.
PWANKHEQUA,—Pwan ching wei,	Tungfoo hong,	Pwan Shaoukwang.
Goqua,—Seay gaou kwan,	Tungching hong,	Seay Yewjin.
KINGQUA,—Leang king kwö,	Teenpaou hong,	Leang Chinghe.
SUNSHING OR HINGTAE,	Hengtae hong,	Yen Khechang.
MINGQUA,—Pwan ming kwan,	Chungwo hong	Pwan Wantaou.
Saoqua,—Ma Sew kwan,	Shuntae hong	Ma Tsoleäng.
PUNHOYQUA,—Pwan hae kwan,	Yunwo hong,	Pwan Wanhae.
SAMQUA,—Woo shwang kwan,	Tungshun hong,	Woo Teenwan.
CHINGSHIN OR KWANGQUA,	Footae hong,	Yeih Yuenchang.
LAMQUA,	Tungcheong hong,	Lo Fuhtae.
TAKQUA,	Oancheong hong,	Yung Yewkwang.

Linguists.

ATOM,	Foonwo,	Tsaemow.
ATUNG,	Uetloy,	Hohwuy.
AKUNG (or YOUNG TOM),	Woshang,	Hwangchang.
ALANTSEI,	Chengwo,	Wootseäng.
AHEEN,	Shunwo,	Tsoy Tsun.

The whole number of residents, whose names are included in the foregoing list, is 307; of whom 158 are English; 62, Parsees; 44, American; 28, Portuguese; 4, Indian; 3, Dutch; 2, Swiss; 2, Prussian; and 2, German; 1, Danish; 1, French. The number of families is 24. During the most busy part of the year the number of visitors, supercargoes, &c., is nearly equal to that of the residents. The names of all the partners in many of the houses are given; but in a few instances we have not been able to obtain them. To readers abroad, it may be proper to remark that *hong* and *factory* are synonymous terms; and that each hong is divided into several houses, or suits of apartments, which are numbered. Sometimes a single 'commercial house' occupies two or more suits of apartments; but often two firms have to divide a single suit. Thus it will appear (as it in fact is) that the place where we dwell "is too strait for us."

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences. The question of admitting opium undecided; smugglers seized; fire in Yuenming Yuen; and deaths in Peking.*

FEB. 16th. The delay in publishing our number for January till now—when its last pages go to press—still leaves us without any intelligence respecting the imperial pleasure on the memorials of Heu Naetse, Choo Tsun, and Hen Kew, as to the admission of opium. We hear it rumored that a new proclamation is being prepared by the governor of Canton, the object of which is to forbid smuggling, and to drive away "the receiving ships."

A boat engaged in smuggling was seized on the 8th of February, and several thousand taels of silver and gold, and a piece of "yellow-dragon" cloth, such as is sacred to imperial use, were recovered.

In November last, a fire broke out in the palace at Yuenming Yuen, but was soon extinguished by the efforts of the servants and guards, who were led on by the principal officers.

Late Gazettes from Peking notice the demise of Yeihsaou the emperor's nephew, Meënnin one of his consins, and of Hae Heung commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Chëkcäng. This "gallant officer" rose from the rank of a common soldier, and had served in Cochinchina, Yunnan, Kweichow, and Hoonan.

